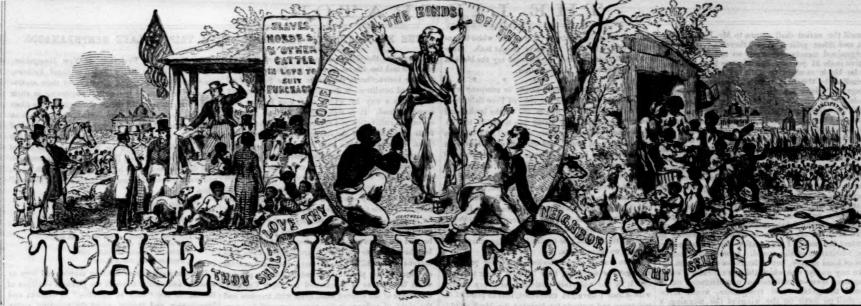
Four copies will be sent to one address for TWELVE s if payment is made in advance. F All remittances are to be made, and all letters ng to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to be ged (POST PAID), to the General Agent.

Advertisements of a square and over inserted three at ten cents per line; less than a equare, \$1.50 for insertions. Yearly and half yearly advertisements sed on reasonable terms.

of The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Penn-Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are wited to receive subscriptions for The Laberaton. The following gentlemen constitute the Financia titee, but are not responsible for any debts of the vis :- WENNELL PHILLIPS, EDMOND QUINCY, EDof Jackson, and William L. Garrison, Jr.

W. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMAN-

Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all

the inhabitants thereof."

"Ilay this down as the law of nations. I say that mil-

itary authority takes, for the time, the place of all munis-ipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the PRESIDENT OF CIPATION OF THE SLAYES. . . . From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war, CIVIL, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of Congress extend to interference with the institution of alavery, IN EVERY WAT IN WHICH IT CAN BE INTERPERED wirn, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or de-stroyed, to the cession of States, bardoned with slavery, to a foreign power. . . It is a war power. I say it is a wpower; and when your country is actually in war, whether
it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress has power to comy on the war, and MUST CARRY IT ON, ACcording to the Laws of wan ; and by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions swept by the board, and MARTIAL POWER TAKES THE PLACE OF THEM. When two hostile armies are set in martial array, the commanders of both armies have power to emancipate all the slaves in the invaded territory."—J. Q. Adams.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

VOL. XXXV. NO. 32.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 11, 1865.

WHOLE NO. 1801.

# Selections.

RECONSTRUCTION AND NEGRO SUFFRAGE. From the Atlantic Monthly for August.]

The submission of the rebel armies and the occu-nion of the rebel territory by the forces of the lated States are successes which have been pur-dased at the cost of the lives of half a million of hed men, and a debt of nearly three thousand milions of dollars; but, according to theories of Sate Rights now springing anew to life, victory as smitten us with impotence. The war, it seems as smitten us with impotence. The wat, it seems as waged for the purpose of forcing the sword out the rebels' hands, and forcing into them the bal of the rebels hands, and forcing into them the balble. At an enormous waste of treasure and blood,
we have acquired the territory for which we fought;
and lo! it is not ours, but belongs to the people we
have been engaged in fighting, in virtue of the
Constitution we have been fighting for. The Federal government is now, it appears, what Wigfall degantly styled it four years ago,—nothing but the one-horse concern at Washington": the real lower is in the States it has subdued. We are over is in the States it has suddied. We are herefore expected to act like the savage, who, af-ter thrashing his Fetich for disappointing his prayers, falls down again and worships it. Our Fetich is State Rights, as perversely misunderstood. The rebellion would have been soon put down, had it keen merely an insurrectionary outbreak of masses of people without any political organization. Its tremendous force came from its being a revolt of remembers have cause from its being a revolt of states, with the capacity to employ those powers of taxation and conscription which place the persons and property of all residing in political communithe at the service of their governments. And now that characteristic which gave strength to the rebel mities in war, is invoked to shield them from remainties in war, is invoked to smell them followed to the federal regulation in defeat. We are required to substitute technicalities for facts; to consider the hellion-what it notoriously was not-a mere revolt of loose aggregations of men owing allegiance to the United States; and to hold the States, which dowed them with such a perfect organization and isonous vitality, as innocent of the crime. The erbal dilemma in which this reasoning places us is is; that the rebel States could not do what they did, and therefore we cannot do what we must mong other things which it is said we cannot do. he prescribing of the qualifications of voters in the States occupies the most important place; and it is necessary to inquire whether the rebel communities now held by our military power are States, in the sense that word bears in the Federal Constitution. If they are, we have not only no right to say that negroes shall enjoy in them the privilege of voting, but no right to prescribe any qualifications for

constitutions are made and governments instituted is by conventions of the people. The State constitations were ordained by conventions of the people of the several States; the Constitution of the United States was made the supreme law of the had by conventions of the people of all the States; and the only method by which a State could be released, with any show of legality, from its obligations to the United States, would be the assent of the several constitution. the same power which created the Federal Constithe States. The course adopted by the so-called "seeding." States was separate State action by popular conventions in the States seeding. This was an appeal to the original authority from which State governments and constitutions derived their powers, but a violation of solemn faith towards the overnment and Constitution decreed by the peoach State, formed a vital part of each State Constitution. No State convention could be called for the purpose of separating from the Union,—of destoying what the officers calling it had sworn to support,—without making official perjury the pre-liminary condition of State sovereignty. Looked at from the point of view of the State seceeding, the act was an assertion of State independence; looked at from the point of view of the Constitution of the United States, it was an act of State shield. The State so acting through a convention of its people was no longer a State, in the meaning that work house in the meaning that we have the meaning the meaning that we have the meaning that we have the meaning

white voters.

In the American system, the process by which

skedet from the point of view of the Coustitute in off the prophe of the State; was not of State in off the prophe was no longer a State, in the inemating of the prophe was no longer a State, in the inemating of the prophe was no longer a State, in the inemating of the prophe was no longer a State, in the inemating of the prophe was no longer a State, in the inemating of the prophe was no longer a State, in the inemating of the prophe was no longer as the prophe was no longer as the prophe was no longer a State, in the inemating of the prophe was no longer as the prophe was not a prophe was not as the prophe was not a prophe was not as the prophe was not a prophe was not not as the prophe was not a prophe was not not as the prophe was not a prophe was not not always to the prophetical prophetical prophetics. The prophetical prophetics was not not prophetical prophetics which was not put to prophetics which was not put to prophetics which was not put to prophetics. The prophetics was not put to prophetics was not put to prophetics which was not put to prophetics which was not put to prophetics was not put to prophetics. The prophetics was not put to prophetics was not put to prophetics was not put to prophetics. The prophetics was not put to prophetics was not put to prophetics. The prophetics was not put to prophetics was not put to prophetics. The prophetics was not put to prophetics was not put to prophetics. The prophetics was not put to prophetics was not put to prophetics. The pro

been hunted down and arrested, claim the rights in the business he enjoyed before he turned roque.

But it is sometimes asserted that the small minority of citizens in the rebel States claiming to be, and to have been, loyal, constitute the States in the constitutional meaning of the term. Now without insisting on the fact that it is so plainly impossible to accurately distinguish these from the disloyal, that an oath, not required by State constitutions, has, in the recent attempt at reconstruction, been imposed by Federal authority on all voters alike, it is plain that no minority in a political society can claim exemption from political evils it had not power to prevent. Had we gone to war with Great of "States;" which have lost by rebellion the Federal communities which have lost by rebellion the Federal communities of "States;" which notoriously have no legitimate claim exemption from political evils it had not power to prevent. Had we gone to war with Great Britain, the property of Cobden and Bright on the high seas would have been as liable to capture as that of Lindsay or Laird. No loyal citizens at the South could have been more bitterly opposed to secession than some of our Northern Copperheads were to the war for the Union; and yet the persons of the Copperheads were as liable to conscription, and their property to taxation, as those of the most to political societies, if men should refuse to be held responsible for all public acts except those they personally approved. A member of a community whose people, in a convention, broke faith with the United States, and made war against it, the Southern Unionist was forced into complicity with the crime. By the pressure of a power he could not resist, he was compelled to pay Confederate taxes, serve in Confederate strength. More than this: the property in human beings, which he held by local law, was confiscated by the Federal Governments.

property in human beings, which he held by local law, was confiscated by the Federal Government's edict of emancipation, equally with the same kind of property held by the most disloyal. And now that the war is over, he and those who sympathized with him are not the State, which was extinguished by its own act when it rebelled. He and his friends may be the objects of sympathy, of honor, of re-ward; but in the work of reconstruction, the inter-est and safety of the great body of loyal citizens of the United States, of the persons who have bought the territory at such a terrible price, are to be pri-if an educational test cannot be established, let sufmarily consulted. And not simply because such a course is expedient, but because the Southern Unionists can advance no valid claim to be the political societies which were recognized by the Federal Constitution as States before the rebellion. He was intelligent enough to understand from the If they were, they might proceed at once to assume

States which seceded, and the persons and project of the whole people were indiscriminately employed in making them effective. The States held by rebel armies were rebel States. All the population were necessarily, in the view of the Federal Govstein the respective of the respective to the negro. That State was South Carperty.

were necessarily, in the view of the Federal Government, rebel enemies. Consequently the territory of the States was as "void" of citizens of the United States as the acts of secession were "void" The only things left, then, were the inoperative ideas of States.

Again, to put the argument in another form, it is asserted that, though the people of a State may commit treason, the State itself remains unaffected by the crime. A distinction is here made between a State and the people who constitute it,—between the State and the persons who create its Constitution and organize its government. The State Constitution which existed while it was a State, in the Federal meaning of the word, was destroyed in an The delegates from South Carolina moved to a State and the people who constitute it,—between the State and the persons who create its Constitution and organize its government. The State Constitution which existed while it was a State, in the Federal meaning of the word, was destroyed in an essential part by the same authority which created it, namely, a convention of the people of the State; and yet it is said that the State remained unaffected by the deed. By this course of reasoning, a State is defined an abstract essence, which can comfortate. by the deed. By this course of reasoning, a State is defined an abstract essence, which can comforta-

We make the following additional extract from the able and eloquent oration of Gen. Garfield at Ravenna, on the 4th ult., wherein he urged with irresistible logic the right of the negro to vote;

Let us not commit ourselves to the absurd and negro does not understand the nature of our institu-tions better than the equally ignorant foreigner. He was intelligent enough to understand from the beginning of this war that the destiny of his race was involved in it. He was intelligent enough to be true to that Union which his educated and trai-If they were, they might proceed at once to assume the powers of the States, without any authority from Washington, and without calling any convention to form a new Constitution. If, on the breaking out of the rebellion, they had rallied in defence of the old constitutions within State limits, preserved the organization of the States in all departments, raised and equipped armies, and conducted a war against the Confederates as traitors to their respective States as well as to the United States, they might present some claims to be considered the States; but this they did not do, and they were not but this they did not do, and they were not but this they did not do, and they were not but this they did not do, and they were not but the states in the bour of sorest need, and by his deating the same to us in the hour of sorest need, and by his deating the same to us in the hour of sorest need, and by his deating the same to us in the hour of sorest need, and by his deating the same to us in the hour of sorest need, and by his deating the same to us in the hour of sorest need, and by his deating the same to us in the hour of sorest need, and by his deating the same to us in the hour of sorest need, and by his deating the same to us in the hour of sorest need, and by his deating the same to us in the hour of sorest need, and by his deating the same to us in the hour of sorest need, and by his deating the same to us in the hour of sorest need, and by his deating the same to us in the hour of sorest need, and by his deating the same to us in the hour of sorest need, and by his day of the republic was saved. (Applaced the same to us in the hour of sorest need, and the same to us in the hour of sorest need, and by his day of the same to us in the hour of sorest need, and the hour of sorest need, and the same to us in the hour of sorest need, and the same to us in the hour of sorest need, and the same to us in the hour of sorest need, and the same to us in the hour of sorest need, and the same to us in the hour of sorest powerful enough to do it. The large proportion of them were compelled to form a part of the rebel make new experiments. I answer, it is always safe power.

And this brings us directly to the heart of the matter. It is asserted that the acts of secession, being unconstitutional, were inorgerative and void. But they were passed by the people of the several States which seceded, and the persons and property of the whole people were indiscriminately employed

no voice in determining the conditions under which they are to live and labor, what hope for the future? It will rest with their late masters—whose treason they aided to thwart—to determine whether the negroes shall be permitted to hold property—to enjoy the benefits of education—to enforce contracts the second to the courts of institute in the courts of the courts of institute in the courts of the c enjoy the benefits of education—to enforce contracts, to have access to the courts of justice—in short, to enjoy any of those rights which give vitality and value to freedom. Who can fail to foresee the ruin and misery that await this race, to whom the vision of freedom has been presented, only to be withdrawn, leaving them without even the aid which the masters' selfish commercial interest in their life and service formerly afforded them? Will these negroes remembering the hattle fields on these negroes, remembering the battle-fields on which two hundred thousand of their number have bravely fought, and many thousands have heroically died, submit to oppression as tamely and peaceably as in the days of slavery? Under such conditions

there could be no peace, no security, no prosperity.

Bear with me, fellow-citizens, while I urge still another consideration. By the Constitution only two millions. If the next decade will be more than chise, we shall have fifteen additional members of Congress from the States lately in rebellion, without the addition of a single citizen to their population, and, the number of representatives being fixed, we shall have fifteen less in the loyal States. This will not only give six members of Congress to South Carolina, four sevenths of whose provides the state, as well.

## DESTINY OF THE BLACKS.

The New York Herald says that Chief Justice Chase reports that it is believed that the black is destined to be the ruling race throughout the land of slaveholding States: "The whites are enervated, demoralized, and certain

South, it will not be withheld from the white man. There are now more than two white men in the South to one negro. The ballot then will not give the negro the superiority over the white man here contemplated, for no man is going to vote to degrade himself. But what is the position of the whites? They have just emerged from an unsuccessful war; and however honest they may be, in accepting the situation, it is not in human nature that their love for the negro should have been enhanced by their late experience. Besides, they are that their love for the negro should have been en-hanced by their late experience. Besides, they are now relieved from all responsibility in regard to him; nay, more, the negro has been placed in a position of opposition to the whites; he has been taught to believe that he has all his life been defrauded, and

that any means by which he can in a measure repay himself are justifiable.

Clearly then, there will be no suffrage for the negro without a struggle, and there will be no such thrusting forward of the negro as will give him precedence to the white, without resistance to the

We have seen that, alone, the negro cannot vote hinself beyond and above the white; it is quite as certain, that being in such a minority he cannot by physical force compel the whites to place him over

Suppose this was to be attempted; either the negroes would be exterminated or the federal government must come to their rescue. The question then presents itself, is there a party in this country which is desirous, by means of federal bayonets, of degrading or exterminating the whites of the South for the purpose of raising up a negro aristocracy, and bringing into Congress negro members.

It is almost impossible to treat this supposition with any degree of calmness. It is in itself, and abstractedly considered, so foolish, so absurd, so repugnant to every feeling of manliness and self-respect, that one is ashamed to consider it as a subject which by any possibility can come into the

spect, that one is ashamed to consider is as a subject which by any possibility can come into the range of practical questions. On the other hand, it is no more absurd, and not a particle more wicked, than the ideas and practices of the Abolitionists for the last thirty years; so that we are not entitled to say that it is either too ridiculous or too shameful to be entertained, and pressed upon the

people.

Whether there be much or little of truth in the Whether there be much or little of truth in the Herald's article, it is disgraceful that such ideas should be promulgated. The negro cannot attain, and no power can attempt to thrust him, to a level above the whites without a sanguinary conflict which would drench the entire South with blood. Unaided, the negro would be no more in the South; aided by the federal army and the whites of the South would be exterminated. Is this what the abolitionists de-

Who are the traitors in sentiment to our government; those who are struggling to bring back the administration to a recognition of, and obedience to the Constitution, or those who are urging such measures as must inevitably overthrow all legal safeguards, and who are clamorous for such a course toward the South as shall prevent their being recognized as citizens of the United States.

The radicals insist that the Southern States are, and must be kept, out of the Union; they are therefore disunionists, striving as earnestly against the Union as did the secessionists. The Democratic party, on the other hand, is laboring for Union, for the due and proper position in it of all the States, and for such a policy as will give us, politically and in feeling, one people.—Ibid.

Congress from the States lately in rebellion, without the addition of a single citizen to their population, and, the number of representatives being fixed, we shall have fifteen less in the loyal States. This will not only give six members of Congress to South Carolina, four sevenths of whose people are negroes, but will place the influence and power of the State, as well as the destiny of 412,000 black men, in the hands of 20,000 white men, (less than the number of voters in our own Congressional District.) who, under the restricted suffrage of that undemocratic State, exercise the franchise. Such an unjust and unequal distribution of power would breed perpetual mischief. The evils of the rotten borough system of England would be upon us. had a pistol. The colored man came and took the position she desired, and the other moved off. The story was hard to believe, but her daughter stated that she came home that evening quite excited, saythat she came home that evening quite excited, saying "there was a 'spicious character in the crowd, and she thought he wanted to shoot Mr. Stanton." I have reason to believe Mr. Stanton knew of this, and expected to the last that she would be examined

On a visit to Mrs. Lincoln, the day she left for "The whites are enervated, demoralized, and certain to be eradicated. The blacks are vigorous, progressive, and bound to become the dominant people in leas than a quarter of a century. A negro aristocracy will spring into full grown existence in all these States, elect negro members to the Federal Congress, almost without opposition, and hold the legislation of that district in their own hands."

On a visit to Mrs. Lincoln, the day she left for Chicago, I said to her that I had always expected slavery would poison Mr. Lincoln as it did Presidents Harrison and Taylor. The idea appeared new to her, and recalled the fact that her husband had been very ill, for some days, from the effects of a dose of blue pills taken shortly before his second inspursation. She said he was not wall, and are With Chief Justice Chase, the wish is doubtless father to the thought, if indeed he has, which seems almost impossible, any such idea as is herein intimated. How any man, whose brain has not been turned by vague visions of the Presidency, can believe in any such future for the negro, is beyond comprehension.

We shall not stop to discuss the desirableness or otherwise of this consummation, but look for a moment at its feasibility. We will take it for granted that when the ballot is given to the negro in the South, it will not be withheld from the white man. There are now more than two white men in the

She described his anxiety to be up, there was so much to do, and her persistence, and his oppressive languor in keeping him in bed for several days; said he and she both thought it so strange that the pills should affect him in that way; they never had done so before, and both concluded they would get no more medicine there, as the attendant evidently did not understand making an prescriptions. Could not understand making up prescriptions. Could this have been the time spoken of in that letter pro-duced on the trial, in which it is said the cup had failed once?

I know an officer's widow who spent some time with her husband in Georgia while Gen. Mitchell was in command. She has told me of a pretended Union woman, in a small town where they were stationed, who kept a boarding-house for Union officers; of the large number of invalids among these boarders, and her especially remarking the excessive and peculiar pallor of these invalids. Soon the number of deaths attracted attention, and an investigation was ordered of the charge that this female fiend had been poisoning her boarders. While the case was pending, some order changed the troops occupying the town, and my informant never learned how the matter ended, but her description of the pallor of the victims so coincides with Mrs. Lincoln's account of our Martyr's appearance after taking I know an officer's widow who spent son panior of the victure so coincides with Mrs. Lincoln's account of our Martyr's appearance after taking the blue pills, that it has occurred to me those monsters may have some peculiar method of poisoning. Moreover, it is highly probable that our political assassinations are not yet over.

A conversation was overheard the latter part of that month on a dark night between a trace of mon

A conversation was overheard the latter part of last month, on a dark night, between a knot of men who distinctly detailed a plan for shooting President Johnson on the Fourth. The speakers were to station themselves at different points in the crowd, and while he should be speaking at Gettysburg, at a signal, fire simultaneously. This conversation was promptly reported to Col. Baker by Judge Day, who told me of the fact.

The person who heard it was a colored woman, late a slave, who knew of Judge Day as the slaves lawyer, and unburdened berself to him of her great secret. After he had reduced her testimony to writing, he sent her with it to Col. Baker. An intelligent white woman on the evening after the executions, overheard one man say to another that "the d—d blue-legged Yankees had not made much of the conspiracy out, and were not done with it of the conspiracy out, and were not done with it

Such conversations have been by no means common here during the past four years, and that against Mr. Lincoln's life attracted but little atten-tion here once, but such threats seek the cover of darkness now.

the federal army and the whites of the South would be exterminated. Is this what the abolitionists desire? Ara they not satisfied with the carnage they have already caused? Is not the cup of Southern humiliation, sorrow and ruin sufficiently full, and have not the Southern people drunk enough of the dregs of misery? Must disunion be made sure and permanent? Is there to be no peace, no safety, no justice for the white man?

And this last question is as important to the North as to the South; for it is self-evident that that spirit of innovation, usurpation and illegal rule which would thus devastate the South, overturn all law and rights, would not leave to the North the semblance of constitutional government. We cannot maintain in the South the rule of brute force in defiance of all justice and equity, and retain in the North our laws, our constitutional privileges, and our individual rights.

The question is not a sectional one; it is one which most directly and emphatically bears upon our entire country, and its entire freedom. We must speedily return to our early system of law and order, or we are wholly lost. It is for the American people to say whether they will have the wild anarchy and lawlessness of the radicals, or the Con-

I confess to great apparent inconsistency of feeling during the course of events in the last tew years. I detested war, with all my heart and soul; yet I was mortally afraid our terrible struggle would years. In detected war, with a my hear and soul; yet I was mortally afraid our terrible struggle would end too soon. I have never wavered in my convictions that peace principles were the highest and truest, and that human society would never be truly civilized till they were adopted. Yet, when I put a white flag on the gate, as a signal agreed upon between me and a neighbor, I was indignant to hear passers-by say, "The folks in that house belong to the Peace Party." I was not so inconsistent as I seemed. I dreaded to have the war end before slavery was completely overthrown, because I foresaw that, if it did, another bloody war must inevitably follow. I was indignant at the misconstruction of my white flag by Copperheads, because by Peace they meant compromise with Slavery. In their mouths, Peace Party became a damaged phrase, unfit for honest use; just as slaveholders and their professedly pious accomplices descerated the Bible by striving to make it prove the divinity of Slavery. People accuse Theodore Parker of diminishing reverence for the Bible: but men who used it as Neterical and their professed of the Bible is but men who used it as Neterical and their professed of the Bible is but men who used it as Neterical and their professed of the Bible is but men who used it as Neterical and their professed of the Bible is but men who used it as Neterical and their professed of the Bible is but men who used it as Neterical and their professed of the Bible is but men who used it as Neterical and their professed of the Bible is but men who used it as Neterical and their professed of the Bible is but men who used it as Neterical and the professed of the Bible is the men who used it as Neterical and the professed of the Bible is the men who used it as Neterical and the professed of the professed of the Bible is the men who used it as Neterical and the professed of th People accuse Theodore Parker of diminishing reverence for the Bible: but men who used it as Nehemiah Adams did, on this subject, undermined its hemiah Adams did, on this subject, undermined its influence a thousand fold more. And as for the New York Observer and the Journal of Commerce, Satan must have laughed over such pious helpers! An honest soul could hardly tolerate speaking the word religion to the slaves, so long as hypocritical teachers made it mean, for them, nothing more than this: "God forbids you to murder your masters, though they may murder you. They have a divine right to be your masters. You must obey them with lear and trembling, though they pollute your wife, and sell your children, and order you to scourge your brother to death." The more true religion a person had, the more he would abhor this base counterfeit, which passed current under its name. I repeat that which passed current under its name. I repeat that such teachers made infidels by thousands.

But I have wandered away from those speeches in

But I have wandered away from those speeches in the Liberator, which braced me like a current of mountain air. I was the more glad of their re-freshing influence, because, having started with strong faith in our new President, I had lately found myself asking, in tones of perplexity, gradually deepening into distress, "What ails Andy John-son?" Some reply that he sincerely abhors Slavery, and wishes to have that Upas Tree torn up by the roots, but that he shares the prejudice of the poor whites against the negroes. Surely that cannot be; lor, with an overflowing eloquence of the heart, he promised the negroes of Tennessee, "I will be your Moses till the Lord raises you up a better."

Moses till the Lord raises you up a better."

I shall always remember a meeting of the colored people in Boston, which I attended, on the day John Brown was hung. Men and women knelt in tearful silence when the clock indicated the hour of execution. The stillness was broken by the tremulous voice of an old black man, a fugitive from slavery, calling out in pleading tones, "Oh Lord, thou hast taken from us our Moses. Raise us up a Joshua!" I could not help responding with a loud "Amen!" And now, if their promised Moses is going to prove recreant, I should repeat a fervent "Amen!" to the prayer, "Oh Lord, raise them up a Joshua!" But I will not give up my faith in Andy Johnson, without more decisive proof. That he has sent such a man as the Hon. John Covode to examine into the condition of the freedmen is one very good sign.

the condition of the freedmen is one very good sign. Moreover, it is difficult to imagine any natural motive for stepping down from the pedestal on which the people placed him in consequence of his conduct in Tennessee. Some say, in explanation of his strange and puzzling course on the question of reconstruction, that his mind is entirely bent upon the elevation of the poor whites of the South, and that he considers the civil consility of pageons are also that elevation of the poor wines of the considers the civil equality of negroes an obsta-cle in the way of his purpose. But Andy Johnson has heretofore shown himself to be a man of too much intellectual ability and largeness of vision to take such a narrow view of the subject. He must take such a narrow view of the subject. He must be aware that the best thing for each class in the

take such a narrow view of the subject. He must be aware that the best thing for each class in the community is to improve every class to the utmost. If any class is shut out from competition for the prizes of society, and divested of the responsibilities of such competition, it not only deprives that class of salutary educational influences for themselves, but it reacts unfavorably upon the classes more privileged. Slaveholders and poor whites have been more injured by Slavery, morally and intellectually, than the negroes have been.

And much as women have been weakened by being excluded from the weightier responsibilities, and more enlarged spheres of social action, I judge that men have lost the most by such exclusion. It is impossible to estimate on how much higher plane men would have stood, morally and intellectually, in the year 1864, if, for the last two hundred years, they had generally found in mothers and sisters, wives and daughters, intelligent auditors and cooperators in their various plans and theories, moral, political, and scientific. Their favorite idea of being a sturdy oak, with women twining round them as a clinging vine, has cost them more than they wot of; though in numerous instances the vine is too obviously a mere bindweed to the growth around which it clings.

Kinmont, in his "Natural History of Mann," has warned when in a few parts of the second of the

mere bindweed to the growth around which it clings. Kinmont, in his "Natural History of Mann," has summed up, in a few sensible words, the relative position of men and women in a well-organized society. After mentioning the account given by Tacitus of the bravery of the women in ancient Germany, and of their being respectfully consulted on important public affairs, he says: "You ask me if I consider all this right and deserving of approbation, or that women were here engaged in their appropriate tasks? I answer, Yes; it is just as right that they should take this interest in the honor of their country as that the other sex should. Of course, I do not think that women were made for battle; neither do I believe that men were. But since the fashion of the times had made it so, and settled it that war was a necessary element of greatness, and that no was a necessary element of greatness, and that no safety was to be procured without it, I argue that it shows a healthful state of feeling in other respects

was a necessary element of greatness, and that no safety was to be procured without it, I argue that it shows a healthful state of feeling in other respects that the affections of both sexes were equally enlisted in the cause, that there was no division in the house or the state, and that the serious pursuits and objects of the one were also the serious pursuits and objects of the other."

Thinking of the great and blessed work done during these last four years by women in the Sanitary Commissions, the hospitals, and the school-houses for the emancipated, I seemed to see a bright light dawning on our future career. But the vision receded in the distance, when I looked from my window and saw a bevy of damsels sailing by, with hencops in their skirts, and upon their heads a rimless pan of straw with a feather in it—utterly useless for defence against wind or sun. To make this unbecoming head-gear still more ungraceful, there descends from it something called by the flowing name of waterfall, but which in fact looks more like a cabbage in a net, tricked out with heads and wampum. If I had met them in Western forests, I should have taken them for Ojibbeway squaws, but their dress was a la scale Particinne. taken them for Ojibbeway squaws, but their dress was a la mode Parisienne. This tyranny of France is, I suppose, one of the things that must be endured, because it cannot be helped, till our brains are better developed. In process of time, I trust the Em-

PPAN. ist, whose name to all who love to all who love song of the representations of the representations of the representations of the representations of the well-sent one at the ripe of the well-sent one at the representation of the representation

la equal to his, it titutions owes its agree, to his infaterchants of New herechants of five or six herechants of five or six her formation of five or six her formation of five or six herechants of five or six herechants of five or fix or five or fix or their power to his ity of forethought, any one can be it was through his large heart, gifted miding a singularly

any without a quespivotal centre of
ed the Colonization
e believed it would
do only abandoned
that it was formed
interest of slavery,
ing the system by
lecision and generis imprisonment at
sition to commence
The formation of
York, to be guided
patriotism to which
hinged upon him,
its main reliance,
at least one-fourth
s response at that
from pending and
on, he gave money,
and left, to an exrecorded. In the
uy, and threatened
thanged his course,
but pressed right
end which he was
she was the hinge
to its new destiny
his energy, until he
ty aroused and so
h the anti-slavery
no longer doubtful,
has been graciousnit the great about
and then departed
f his Lord. Well
Thou hast been
over higher interY. Independent.

New Haven on He was a native He was a native her with his broth-enjamin, (formerly sen well known in family to which he all of them felt in all of them felt in a maternal head of miable disposition, consistent piety actitude. Tappan was c, enterprising and rk. He met with fortune he lost. It from business, and en, Conn.

I himself with the have been called. have been called.

pularity in certain

le was the subject

tation; abused by

ood by political and
that he was a man ainment of that, a tic. Nothing could as cool and clear-

as cool and clear-myrictions and firm king; and in some which he belonged. when he was sup-the anti-slavery pro-nday afternoons in the city. Indeed, religious purpose judgment that he lity and his liberal d personal habits to see the slanders less party spirit die live down the maon his name; and was among the first mwearied devotion be believed, that han of fourscore, it a Traveller.

as some years ago, merchants. He ac-much of which he arena again with he was as a mer-town for his great zeal with which he any movement for le was one of the took a large share which were visited keet days. When more for an article Slave Trade, Mr. him from jail, and l, was as notorious outh as Garrison's. was known to be the assertion that ne idea," for there arpose to which he at executive ability untiring devotion. To the end of his never flagged, and ard—"Well done, Zappan was in the Fribuse.

an influx of Eastan influx of East, the
an influx of East, the
an influx of East, the
an influx of Eastan influx of Easta

an of Boston has amilton to the city. Alth Avenue. If feet high, with a

A

LETTI

CHARLES

days ago,

Emancipa

to hold a

time appu

the open a

I send yo

have bee

shapes of

The au

we have

last, bee

colipsed b

cessities (

years, for

sterling

slavery is

miate the

\_everyth

soning, p

him-is f

his need

servient t

system, 8

sum of al

by the ire

by its fr

extend in

the conti

liberation

millions

dread con

The yaw

at our fee

fee of un

children.

dead. O

The L

wherever

float on th

free." It

of many

postulate

against t

that ther

inherent,

and sold

pidity an

The pa

something

right to I

him !-t

family-

The righ

and happ

This is w

versal re

him noth

be done.

and a p

despair.

where.

man and

good the

out the

pathway

with a jo

slavery

my eye 1

ing sun

and con v

this bein

are to p

gro suffr

great we

ty succes

conflict o

necessity

white sol

never e.

coupled

play, wo

would 1

breaking

of the r

The eler

seized u

the hour

he have

leave his

under th

knowled

by the a

tional cr

and ind

homes,

literally

protection

Again

well be

nion and

If we ca

the first

for our a

sonal or

so. It c

is nothir

nation,

never be

was a cl

Paponai

That pl

people o

it that w

new ord

oughly |

which so

black fa-

ne if we

We sir

DEAR

oming time.

In closing this hurried account of a deligidary cursion, we desire to express our special old the officers of the several railroads forming line between Boston and the lake, and par to Hon. Henry Keyes and A. H. Per President and Superintendent of the Cor Passumpsic Rivers Railroad, (who account party,) for their constant courtesy and kin to Capt. Fogg, and Messrs. Buck & Pind Memphramagog House; and last, but not by a means least, to our good friend, J. E. Pecker of Concord, by whom the arrangements for the er of Concorn, by whole intelligent up us cares vision they were carried out to so successful as

LETTER FROM L. N. FOWLER, THE EMI-NENT PHRENOLOGIST.

LONDON, (Eng.) April 24, 1865. MY OLD FRIEND, WM. LLOYD GARRISO Having for the two past years found your pan valuable medium through which I have gained input tant information about the affairs of while travelling in England, I must tell you that I the announcement that it would be discontinued, the the present year, with mingled feelings of pain un pleasure ;-pain, because the Liberator was a lon word when at home, and has come to me over the ocean a pleasant messenger of glad tidings, and it o valuable a paper to be stopped-pleasure, because the cause which started the paper, thirty year up

I congratulate you on the changes which have h place in the American people, because you haved o much toward bringing about the desired read Rarely does a pioneer live long enough to see the fr ition of his labors, as you have done. You have you martyr's fame by a martyr's labors, bearing oppor tion, imprisonment and calumny when the cause w weak, and there was no credit in being an Abolin May your life be long spared to see the fruits of re rnest labors ! I should rejoice to hear that you h ectured in Richmond, Charleston, Raleigh, Colo bia, and New Orleans. The thought has occurred me, that instead of stopping the Liberator altogether name might be changed to "The Liberates Those who are liberated will want a medium three which they can tell their experience, give their view and make known their rejoicings as they become or

To-day we are rejoicing throughout England say we-I mean those who have always defended the orth, and there are many such throughout the com try. For the last four years, in every course of lectures I have given, I have endeavored to state the policy of the North ; and though surrounded by se sionists, yet whenever I have spoken of the leader of the Anti-Slavery movement, and showed the po trait of Garrison, I have "brought down the house To-day, for the first time, the papers here have pu lished the thrilling news that Lee, with his army, h surrendered, and that there is a prospect of pass What rejoicings you must have had in every part the North! What a glorious event! How appropr ate that it should have occurred on the anniversar the day when war was declared! The Southern er pathizers in England must feel quite "chopfallen and discouraged, especially the Confederate box way they can. What a change it will make in Amer ica and throughout the world !- for liberty, freedon republicanism, justice and human progress have on quered the worst forms of despotism, slavery, selfishness and irreligion. The freed box ucated, to have the same privileges as the white me at the ballot-box; the master has hereafter to do his own work, or to pay his workmen. The aristocracy based in unrighteousness is brought low, the neg will be on a par with his master in privileges, and will be far superior to him in this fact, that he less nothing to repent of in his degradation, while the

his whole life. May God bless and sustain our President and hi Cabinet, that they may properly guide the military powers of America; that they may have wisdom in settling the great and complicated difficulties thrown upon them, in making peace negotiations, in securing justice to all, and in showing a due regard of humani ty and sympathy where they really belong!

I rejoice that you were enabled to go to Fort Sun ter to help raise our noble flag on that renowned of ruin. It must have made you feel that God is on the side of the right, and that truth ultimately will prevail

L. N. FOWLER,

REPLY TO "D M."

gregation in Baltimore. Mr. W.'s congregation knew, at the time they 'called " him, that he would preach new ideas to the

Mr. Ware's "trimming" in Baltimore has consist ed in his announcing from his pulpit his opposition the "curse of the country," and his intention 10 preach such doctrines and reforms as he believed it his duty to call the attention of his congregation

not suppose I am one of the class for whom you assert he has to "trim," allow me to say that I am a native Marylander, son of a slaveholding see and a convert of Helper; and advocated, in Mar) laud, in 1860, the election of Abraham Linco also believe in universal suffrage. Of such materi are Mr. Ware's congregation and friends mostly con posed, and his friends can readily see that trimming is unnecessary, and would not be tolerated. The dat trines preached by him would be acceptable to ib congregation of the "Church of the Disciples," and his old friends may be proud of his course in Balimore, and the great success consequent thereupen.

press Eugenie will sleep with her illustrious ances-tors, and that no other fantastic queen of fashion will come after her, to lead the civilized world such a fool's dance. What a set of monkeys we are, in feathers and furbelows, dancing to the tune of that

## INTERVIEW WITH A PLANTER.

CHARLESTON, S. C., July 17, 1865. While the steamer was approaching Hilton Head, I was sitting on deck engaged in conversation with a rebel officer who had been spending several a rebel officer who had been spending several months on Johnson's Island as a prisoner of war, and was now on his way to his Southern home. He was a fine, stalwart fellow, in the very bloom of manhood, of pleasant address, and an intelligent expression of countenance. The conversation was soon turned upon his personal situation and prospects. I would not attach much value to what was said, had I not heard the same sentiments expressed by a number of other Southern men, and had I not reasons to believe that they are indicative of the way of thinking of a large and influential class the way of thinking of a large and influential class

He was glad to get home again, very glad. He had entered the army in 1861, and had not been home since. For many months he had not heard

vord from his family.
'I am a planter," said he, "or, rather, I was planter before the war. My plantation is in Georgia, south of Savannah, not far from Darien. gia, south of savannan, not lar from Daries. have 4000 acres of land and about ninety negroes. I was well off, I assure you. But what am I now: My slaves are all gone; I am sure they are Whether my house is still standing I do not know. but I am sure every thing about my plantation is gone to wreck and ruin."
"Well, what are you going to do when you get

"Do? I don't know, sir, no more than the man in the moon. May be some of my negroes, when they hear that I have come home, will come back to me. They were always faithful to me. I treat-ed them well; lost but one in four years by death,

of congestive fever."

"Well, then, if some of them come back to you, you will make contracts with them, give them fair wages, and go to work again, will you not?"

He looked surprised. "How so? make contract

Well," said I, " you know slavery is abolished and if you want the negroes to work for you at all, you will have to make agreements with them, as

" said he, "I have beard of this. I know that's the intention. But, now, really, do you think this is a settled thing? Now, niggers won't work when they are not obliged to. A free nigger is never good for any thing. I know the thing won't work. No Southern man expects it will. No use

He grew quite animated. I endeavored to con-vince him, in as forcible language as I could com-mand, that the emancipation of the slave was in-deed a settled thing, and that the Southern people

ould be obliged to try."

He still remained incredulous. "Yes, yes," said he, "I know that's the intention. But I tell you ow the nigger. I know him, sir. He isn't fit for sedom, sir. President Johnson is a Southern man and he knows the nigger, too, sir. He knows him as well as I do, sir. He knows that the niggers must be made to work somehow. You can't make a contract with any of them. They do not know what a contract is. They won't keep a contract."

I remarked that the system which he deemed im-

possible was carried out at a great many places, and that where the military power of the government saw to it that the contracts were fairly made, the system worked well.
"Yes," said he, "as long as the Federal troop

are there, the thing may work. But the troop will soon be withdrawn, won't they? And the per ple of the Southern States will manage their own affairs again, won't they?"
"May be, by and by," said I, meeting his anxious

eye with a smile.

"Well, isn't that the policy of the administration? You see, then, the thing won't work."

I tried once more to convince him that he would have to make up his mind to treat the negro as a free laborer, and suggested that if he thought he could not, he ought to sell part of his land, and keep only as much as he could cultivate himself. The idea struck him as absolutely inadmissible. "Sell my land!" said he. "What shall I do if I sell my plantation? I have not learned any thing

with which I could make a living.

"You might cultivate a small farm yourself, and make a living in that way." Why, I can't work. I know how to manage a

never did a day's work in my life, sir."

"Then sell the whole of your land, and invest
the money in some other profitable business. What
is laud worth down your way?"

am at home. I haven't got the remotest ide what land may be worth there. There never wa an acre of land sold in that neighborhood, that can remember." He meditated awhile in si lence. "No," said he, at last, "I can't sell my plantation. We must make the nigger work some-I have now heard a good many Southern people

speak about this subject, some of them very emphatic in their protestations that they accept things as they are, without any mental reservation,—restoration of the Union, abandonment of the right of secession, abolition of slavery and all, but whenever you question them about particulars as to their future course, you will always find this to be the burden of the song. "The "nigger is free, to be sure, but he will not work to be conselled to work to be to be sure, but he will not work to be conselled to work to be sure to be sure. ess compelled to work; we must make him "work somehow we understand the matter, and will see about that as soon as the control of "the political power in the States is restored to us." I believe every intelligent Southern man must have come to the conclusion that slavery is gone and cannot be restored, but he deplo this fact most sincerely. If the negroes were not so "demoralized" as to render every attempt to restore the old form of slavery dangerous, I have no doubt the attempt would be made. But the "demoralization" of the colored race does not permit it. On the other hand, the introducti wholly foreign to the Southerner's ideas. He does not know what free labor is. The problem he feels himself at present called upon to solve is, how to impose as many duties upon, and grant as few rights to, the negro as possible.

# FIRST OF AUGUST CELEBRATION.

The colored citizens of New York city celebrated the first of August with great spirit in a grove in Brooklyn. Prof. Day delivered a very interesting ent address, the closing portion of which we give below:

Our future is in our own keeping. I do not look Our future is in our own keeping. I do not look for full justice to-day, nor to-morrow, but the next day, as surely as that four years of war have passed, and 200,000 black Minervas, fully armed, have sprung from the brain of the white Jupiter of this land. My motto is, ask for justice—ask respectfully—of those who have withheld it; but ask earnesty of those who have withness in the people, y, and sleep on your arms. Trust in the people, This spirit but trust far more in yourselves. This spirit, unitedly exhibited, will win the day. Even Gov. Perry (the loyal disloyal Provisional Governor of South Carolina) is but the chaff before the wind in a conflict of principles. Let him rave. Let him deprecate. Let him warn. The majority of the ple of South Carolina are colored people—always loyal of course-and Provision Perry does not represent them. I look to the Americans who profess to believe in majorit ruling, to see that such an incubus shall be removed Such an "experiment" as Governor Perry should not be continued long enough to make Democratic institutions a mockery. That "experiment" will pass away, and the freedom not merely, but the eninstitutions a mockery. That "experiment" will pass away, and the freedom not merely, but the enfranchisement of the celored people be secured. It must come. No man or men can resist the decrees of God. We read it on blood-red waves. We read it on battle-fields four years back. We read it on half a million lives given, cheerfully given, that liberty in this lard might be more than a name. We read it in the history of the good man gone, Abraham Lincoln, who, in 1859, did not think it necessary to give the ballot to any colored man, but who, in 1865, was willing to give it to the colored soldier, and the intelligent colored citizen. I wear my Lincoln badge yet. I feel like wearing

it until the nation shall return to Mr. Lincoln's latest and safest policy. I see, therefore, the States reorganized merely sufficiently so to include every native male 21 years of age of some kind, whether he be black as night or white as the icicle that's dwindled by the frost from the purest snow and hangs on Dian's temple. I see this Government made one by black and white hands, yielding up to black men thus, effort after effort, a portion of Government control. I see the schools thrown open for the black child as for the white. I see black and white priests ministering together at the altars of white priests ministering together at the altars of religion. I see black men elected to petty and then igher offices in the State. I see preferment to the black man, even to the Presidential open to the black man, even to the Presidential chair. I see everywhere respect for brains and worth, moral and material. I see everywhere the recognition of the normal principle, "Man is recognition of the normal principle, "Man is man, and no man is more." I see, therefore, internal peace unbroken for ages. I see a pure government striving for the interest of the weaker members of it. I see power everywhere stooping to protect the poor. I see a nation clinging to justice, the admiration of the world. I see a civilization, not of head merely, but of heart—a civilization under the control of the like any except one which this tyrant-ridden world amongst the scholars; they seemed eager to learn; has ever seen—a civilization manufactured out of world thoughts, world sympathies, world loves. shall go forth on the wings of the ight angel visiting the homesteads bright angel visiting the homesteads of all, and leaving over every relationship of life a blessed influence borrowed, as it were, from that law expounded by the good Bishop Hooker—the very least as follows: pounded by the good Bishop Hooker—the very least as feeling its care—the very greatest as not exempt from its power. Tyrannies shall stand abashed in its presence, and acknowledge its supremacy. Liberty, a wanderer over our world for six thousand years, shall here fold up her wings and rest forever. Hence, if, in a word, the nation detection of the level majorities in States shall not rule, rest forever. Hence, it, in a word, the hauton de-crees that loyal majorities in States shall not rule, but obey an oligarchy, then take notice the national battle is only half fought, and must be waged until the true Democratic principle shall triumph. To that declaration we give our voices and votes, "our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

### FREE SPEECH VS. A FREE PRESS.

The Richmond Whiq was recently suppressed by the military authorities for indulging in a style of discussion calculated to induce a renewal of the war. After a few days, the proprietor gave satisfactory assurances to the authorities, and was allowed to resume business. In resuming publication, he bewails the disability which prevents his giving expression to the fulness of his thoughts on public questions.

Mr. Emerson Etheridge was arrested recently in Tennessee, by the military, for addresses to the people, in which he counselled his hearers to set the new Constitution of the State, and certain laws passed under it, at defiance. He has made his arrest the pretext for a scurrilous but powerful letter, through the newspapers, to the President. His venom takes its edge from the concessions Mr. Johnson, as U. S. Senator, was willing to make to avoid a civil war, as contrasted with the attitude he ssumed after the war was forced on the country.

These cases, and others like them, are made the asis of loud complaints by the late rebels and their Northern friends.

rthern friends. They clamorously repel these in-ions of the freedom of discussion. We submit that these criminations come with a bad grace from men who have stoutly denied, through a long course of years, the right of all persons to discuss the nature and bearings of the institution of slavery; and who have not only denied the right, terrible vengeance of mob law. For at least ten years prior to the war, neither Horace Greeley, nor Henry Ward Beecher, nor Wm. Lloyd Garrison nor any one of hundreds of such like, would have been permitted to live six hours in any city of the lately of the Confederacy. The men and journals who are now incensed at the remonth would elapse before the unconditional Union men resident there would be completely silenced, and most likely thousands of them assassinated. forcibly stopped, the instraction of blacks would be abrogated, and their rights, acquired by military service, would be derided and trampled upon. Before Southern men set up as victims of the proscription of free speech and a free press, it would be well for them to set an example of at least tolerating free discussion in others.—Honesdale Republic.

# The Liberator.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 11, 1865.

# BENEVOLENCE OF ENGLISH "FRIENDS."

We have had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of Joseph Simpson, Esq., an agreeable and intelligent member of the Society of Friends in England, who has been deputed by the Central Committee of that Society for the relief of the emancipated slaves in the United States to visit this country, in order to investigate their actual condition, and the working of the various associations that have been organized here in their behalf. Although the Friends are a small body in England, we are equally surprised and gratified to find that they have already contributed the munificent sum of more than sixty thousand dollars in aid of our freedmen, and are still making collections for the same beneficent object. It is impossible for charity to be more opportunely or more wisely bestowed, and the benediction of Heaven will be sure to attend it. Besides, such benevolent co-operation cannot fail to strengthen the bonds of international amity, and promote the cause of peace universally.

Mr. Simpson arrived in this country in April last. and has made diligent use of his time in visiting various localities of freedmen in Virginia and at the his interesting letters, which we find appended to a private Report of the Central Committee to which we

"The planters, having row ceased, in reality as well those for the tightening of whose fetters they have fought so long and suffered so much. No m kindness, (much less any help,) will be afforded them in this, the most critical period of their history. It is, then, to his friends in the North, in England, and else where, that the freedman must look for just that amount of help which is required to get him safely over this great turning-point in his history. And more than this he does not ask. It is the una testimony of all with whom I have spoken, and of all who have mixed with the Southern negroes during the last few years, that he neither asks nor desires continued charity. Just give him a hand out of the nisery in which his race has been steeped for generations-give him facilities for acquiring that knowledge which has not only not been given to him, but positively forbidden him-give him freedom and just enough education to fit him to use it aright-and he asks for no more. If you will refer to the reports of chools, you will see how universal is this evidence of selves.

it until the nation shall return to Mr. Lincoln's la- ing inferior in its nature to that of the white is en States tirely scouted by those who have taught both. Give him equal chances, and the teachers say the black is certainly not behind his competitor.

Yesterday I spent several hours, in company with Dr. Thomas, in visiting the colored Free Schools of this city. About 1000 names are on the books, and the average attendance lately has been 650 to 700. Good school-rooms have been provided; 13 teachers are regularly at work; and though operations were not commenced in these schools till the beginning of the present year, the general appearance, conduct, and and in attainments would not disgrace any English school which I was ever at. Figures, mental calculation and grammar are their weak points; and some of us, I think, won't be inclined to judge others very harshly on these points.

There was an evident feeling of interest prevalet

loves. with whom I have yet conversed, that in point of it morning, a telligence and aptitude for learning the black child is the quicker of the two. The teacher, who is looked upon as the best in this city, has been seven years teaching in Boston, (Mass.) and is now in these Free Schools. Her testimony was very clear:-" I have taught this class the same lessons I taught is Boston to white children, and I can safely say that here than there, and with much less labor to myself." In these schools, however, but few children of me recently emancipated are to be found. They are chiefly the sons and daughters of men who have long

> In Richmond five Freedmen's Schools are already established, and in them ab ut 2,000 children are no being taught-chiefly by New England lady-teacher sent here by the Baptist Missionary Society. Seeing that little more than a month has elapsed since th Union troops obtained possession of the city, you wil see that little time has been lost in getting the schools to work; and this would strike you more forcibly or visiting the schools.

been free.

Most of the scholars are but just free. Nearly all have long lived in the city; and though large num bers of colored people who have just been liberated are flocking into this place from the vicinity, it is ex pected that most of them will return to their old o adjoining farms as hired servants, as soon as the novel upon themselves for their livelihood.

As might be expected, the children come to the chools perfectly ignorant of the very rudiments learning. Their ignorance has, in fact, been compul sory. Remembering this, one is surprised to note how rapidly they advance, especially in all branche which can be taught orally. The teachers are sur prised at this-especially those who have only beer accustomed to white children before. To these chil dren, coming to school is looked upon quite as a treat, (O how different was it with some of us in bygoni days!) and it would please you much could you see the Ward Beecher, nor Wm. Lloyd Garrison, little dark-eyed girls (decked in their bits of finery) march into school, laden, perhaps, with large bouque of flowers for their teachers, and take their places with Northern an air of delight, which says, as plainly as action can South, would say anything, "Yes, massa, me free now; can cor strictions laid on discussion at the South, would have esteemed the hanging of either of the persons to learn book, learn sing, and den me short time write named, in Charleston or Richmond, as a commendable exhibition of chivalry. If the Federal armies lessons are yet taught; though, by the way, I noticed were disbanded or removed from the South, not a one or two who spelled words of two syllables nicely In order to avoid languor, various exercises are re sorted to continually; or a song is taken up with won drous energy by all. Yesterday, for instance, a school of 500 or 600, which meets in the African Church gave us with great vigor, "Rally round the flag," 'John Brown," and others, much to our and their enjoyment.

So far white teachers are found to answer bette than colored ones. In time, no doubt, colored ones must take their places, especially during the ho weather further south. At present there seems to be but one teacher to 40 or 60 scholars, and some of them are much overworked."

# A SOUTH-SIDE VIEW.

In another column may be found a statement of a conversation with a Southern gentleman, written by a regular correspondent of the Daily Advertiser in the South, who is vouched for by its editor as eminently qualified to obtain adequate and trustworthy infor mation in that region. It corroborates the testimony that is coming in from all quarters, showing how to naciously the slaveholders adhere to the ideas formed under their slaveholding relation. They no longer fight, because they have no armies, no arms, and no leaders. They yield to the United States Government, because there is no confederate Government They take any required oath, because that is the only way of living in quiet under the Government which hey have vainly tried to overthrow. Their old method of life is no longer available, and they must find a new one. They know not what to do. But, manifestly, what they will try to do will be to get as much as possible out of the class they formerly pre tended to own. They still spell negro with two gs. They still repeat, alike to others and to themselves, the lies with which they have always been accustor ed to justify slavery. If, as now seems probable, they shall find it no longer possible to have slaves they will do what they can to keep the colored pe West, and has been much gratified by what he has ple in the position of "niggers"; they will demand West, and has been much gratified by what he has seen and heard. Below we give some extracts from his interesting letters, which we find appended to a will prevent them, as far as possible, from attaining the rights of land-holding, of voting, and of manu facturing and commercial enterprise; and they will restrict, as far as may be, their progress in education and in the attainment of civil and political rights gen as in law, to be responsible for the maintenance of erally. Are men like these to be entrusted with the these people, are not likely to deal very kindly with legislative power in the reconstruction of States? -C. K. W.

"HARPER'S NEW MONTHLY MAGAZINE," for At gust, is received. It is a good number to take with you to the sea-side, or for an afternoon under an apple tree about the homestead. It has an illustrated bit o colloquial poetry, "Blacksmith and Farmer"; a paper descriptive of western mining; "In the Witness Box," and the Pursuit of the guerilla Morgan, all illustrated, and the latter written by Abbott; Recollect tions (and a portrait) of Sheridan; papers on "Ne vada," "Hugh Miller and Geology," "Under Fire at Charleston," and the " Influence of Climate on National Character"; the continuation of "Armadale and "Our Mutual Friend," with tales, sketches, poetry, and the editorial after-part, always entertaining, and a perfect "magazine" of itself.

Messrs. E. Tilton & Co. have in press Volum the teachers and inspectors at the various camps and Second of their edition of the Conspiracy Trial, edited, with an Introduction, by Ben. Perley Poure. The an independent feeling on the part of the blacks them- publishers, in giving this book to the public, seem to "We can work-are willing to do so-but we appreciate the value that will always be attached to don't like to live upon charity." Such is the feeling, the most remarkable military trial which has ever ocand, from all I have yet seen of the action of the va- curred or is likely to occur on this continent, and have rious committees in the North, (and I have sat with brought it out in the most desirable form for libraries. several during their executive deliberations,) they do It is beautifully printed in clear, open type, on fine all in their power to keep this up. The women are white paper, and neatly bound; has a vignette of Justaught to sew; material is provided for them, and tice, blindfolded, with scales and sword. We are glad they are paid for their work just as our women were to learn that libraries are recognizing its importance in the sewing schools in Lancashire. Many, if not it should be in every public library. Of the trial of most, of the able-bodied men were induced or com- Aaron Burr, which has recently been in so much de pelled to enlist; others remain at home, and, where mand there can scarcely be found a perfect copy, even practicable, work for wages in the fields. The children in the largest libraries. The publishers present the are taken into the schools, and show a really wonder. Conspiracy Trial in a most attractive manner, and in ful quickness in the acquisition of knowledge. The a way to put it within the reach of every one. Its sale idea, by the way, of the intellect of the black man be- will doubtless be a large one.)

## THE RENOVATION OF THE SOUTH.

Cognate to the obligation on the part of the government and the liberal mind of the North to secure popular instruction to the people of the South of all ors and conditions is the still more imperative duty to provide a way by which they may become possessed of land. It is well known that all the land opened to cultivation and adjacent to the lines of traffic is in the hands of the slavocracy, with fare exceptions. The poor whites have for long years occupie the poorest lands, and in some parts the sandhills, eking out a miserable existence on a little corn, pork and whiskey. Now, the war has ruined the old landed aristocracy, except in those instances where the foresight of the planter will lead him to use his in fluence over his former slaves to induce them to work for low wages, which will probably be the case quite generally on the back plantations; and the result will be that the negro will have no home of his own, un-less he retreats to the poorest land—perhaps the pine barrens or sand hills. In all cases where the avaries or anger of the planter shall induce him to procure white laborers, as is threatened in North Carolina. the future of the colored man, even with freedom and the right of suffrage in his possession, will be unen-viable.

Manchester, and thence, along the beautiful valley of that "lowland river" whose praises Whittier has Now, the first thing to be done by the power in au-

thority is to apply the Confiscation Act to the rebel land-owners with judicious severity all over the Slave States, and then under the Homestead Law set off to ny, the representatives of the press of the Old Gra every family of blacks forty acres of land, on or near ite rich whites, the government can generously allow forty acres to remain to the old slaveholding family, so that they will be on a level with the blacks in the ownership of land. And where the confiscated and abandoned lands do not suffice, the unoccupied and unsold lands belonging to the government can be brought into requisition, and divided among the freedmen and poor whites. This will secure two very important and essential results; first, the complete extirpation of the Southern aristocracy-the most uncongenial nuisance in the republic; and, secondly, anchoring of the poorer people in permanent homes. Ownership of real estate by its citizens is the real safeguard for a government. Where such a we reached, at seven o'clock in the evening, the vilcondition is almost universal, as in the Northern lage of Newport,—some 250 miles from our starting-States, a revolution to destroy the government which guarantees the title is next to an impossibility. Had gog House were flung open, with welcoming sound the system prevailed at the South, the people could and the company were soon busily engaged in remov not have been dragooned into rebellion; and in those ing the incrustations consequent on the long and sul-States where the custom prevailed to any great ex- try ride. The lavation completed, full justice was tent, a vote for secession could not be obtained from the people. Witness Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee party strolled out in groups to the shore, to take their and Missouri.

Having accomplished this extremely important object for the down-trodden blacks, let us look forward a few years, and remark the state of things that will gradually ensue. The blacks of Missouri, being few The view, at this moment, was one of surpass in number compared with the whites, will form, as loveliness. Owl's Head Mountain, the chief point in most of the old Free States, an uninfluential of attraction about the lake, towered in mysterious class, and will gradually, for the sake of each other's sympathy, or for social reasons, sell out their farms, waters broke into ripples of silvery laughter beneath and settle in the towns or cities. This will not add the rays of the moon, which revealed, on either to their virtues, but will be apt to affect them as it hand, the dark foliage of the trees, in shadowy indisdoes the whites. They will become more refined in tinctness,-making a picture that will long live in the manners, but poorer in substantial wealth, weaker in memory. health, and less virtuous of life. Any laboring class of people, unless educated mechanics, grow more about seventy) gathered on the little steamer " Moundependent and less self-reliant the longer they cling to great cities, not to say that they sooner fall into Light clouds somewhat obscured the sun, and a gentle pinching poverty. What lessons of bitterness do our breeze tempered what had otherwise been an exceedfinancial convulsions reveal in cities among the laboring poor! while the hardy laborers in the country, Memphramagog, (the name is said to be a corruption away back in the forest, can rarely suffer for the ne- of the Indian words signifying a large, beautiful ex cessaries of life, unless through intemperance. So panse of water) is about forty miles long, with an we fear little good will come of the colored people average breadth of three miles, two thirds of its surflocking to large towns, and becoming menials. We face being within the dominions of the British Queen. wish to see them out of menial employments as soon We sailed, therefore, under the Cross of St. George as possible, that they may silence by their enterprise as well as the Stars and Stripes. The main sources the slanderous lies of their enemies.

West Virginia and North Carolina. In Kentucky the mountain which bears the name of "Owl's Head," or Tennessee, the whites are about four or five to (why, "'twould puzzle a conjuror" to tell,) is the the blacks, and in many counties of those States there centre of interest, and the steamer stopped at its base, are but a few colored people, say a dozen or so. They where there is a quiet and attractive hotel, nestling will naturally gravitate to those regions where society snugly in a lovely nookcongenial to their feelings can be found; and conse quently, very many of the negroes will find themselves obliged to work as servants again, and under the same disabilities as we mentioned above. But which is 2700 feet high, and from the top of which, it the same disabilities as we included which is 2000 feet high, and very extensive view is obwork enough and abundant society for them and their posterity for the present and immediate future, without crowding into towns and cities. The gracious fact, that of an equal population of whites and blacks at Richmond, more than ten whites to one black drew government rations in the month of May, speaks volumes for the sagacity and industry of the blacks. The cheapness of vegetables in the market there speaks the same language. The suburbs of Richmond, we doubt not, are pretty generally occupied by the hardy blacks, with their "truck patches," and their skill at raising pigs, poultry and vegetables doubtless solves the whole question of difference in poverty of the two races.

So we conclude that where the colored race can enjoy, not only personal freedom and civil rights, but social advantages that shall give them quiet and respectability with their compeers, we shall see the true development of the race. And in this light we look to the settlement at Port Royal and the Sea Islands of South Carolina and Georgia, and the operations of the freedmen on the Mississippi river, between Vicksburg and New Orleans, as full of promise. We do not doubt their success; and in the belt

two or three hundred miles inland, where the great bulk of the colored population now reside, we expect to find all the elements of success that can be wished for. We want to see the commerce of that region in the hands of the children of the men and women who have for six generations groaned in slavery, and died in the house of bondage. We trust that the close of this century will see no representative of that dominant class of oligarchs who have abused humanity, insulted God, and cursed our country with the enormities of slavery and the horror of branch of business, or claiming a share in the commerce that then will bless that land and whiten the We look to that section as the real Canaan of the

and who own it by the divine right of labor; and the first step will be to secure a share in the soil. The inhabitant to a square mile, and large areas of its his eyes upon it, three centuries ago. The rebellious whites, having no rights that black men are bound to respect, should be rooted out, as lords of the soil; for they have shown themselves unequal to the task of properly developing a lovely and fertile State, close by the tropics. Give it to the loyal black man. Put im in full possession of it, as a part of his inheritance, and bid him God-speed. We do not fear for his future there. Fifty thousand square miles of fertile land. that aches for the hand of civilization, lie ready to be vexed into yielding up its treasures. Let the loyal blacks who wish to own it ask the government to set them down there with the requisite tools. How gloand manufactories, owned and engineered thropist turn his attention to this question ?

tion at Abington, as reported by Mr. Yerrinton.

A TRIP TO LAKE MEMPHRAMAGOG.

The Newspaper Fraternity of New Hampshire, who belong to the Royal Order of Good Fellows, commiserating the trying situation of their metro politan "brethren of the quill," sweltering in their pent-up sanctums, with the thermometer in the nine-ties, last week sent them an invitation to join in an excursion to Lake Memphramagog, Vermont; and on Thursday, a number of the representatives of the press of this city started for Newport, at this end of the lake, ria the Lowell Railroad and its connections. The day was one of the hottest of that feverish week and warmly reminded one of Holmes's " Hot Season."

"Plump men of mornings ordered tights,
But, ere the scorobing noons,
Their candle-moulds had grown as loose
As Cossack pantaloons!
The dogs ran mad,—men could not try
If water they would choose;
A horse fell dead,—he only left
Four red-hot, rusty shoes."

But our steed was of different mettle, and bore steadily and swiftly through the pleasant environs of Boston to the "City of Spindles," to Nashua and just now so sweetly sung, where the stately elm stands sentinel over the "green repose" of luxuriant meadows, to Concord. Here we met a large compa State, with a few from Eastern Massachusetts,his old plantation. Not to beggar the class of former many of them accompanied by ladies,-for whose accommodation two spacious and well-appointed cars were in waiting. Among the party were Gov. Smyth and lady, (whose simple presence is a benediction,)
Adjutant-General Head, of New Hampshire, and Mayor Humphrey, of Concord, as invited guests. road from Concord to White River Junction, at which point we struck the Connecticut and Passumpsic streams, through thriving villages and well-tilled farms, whose handsome corn

"Waved in the hot midsummer's noon Its soft and yellow hair,"

first view as the evening shadows rosted on lake and wood and mountain, and just as the moon,

On the hushed inland sea looked de

grandeur in the distance, while close at hand the

Friday morning, the company (now numbering tain Maid," Capt. Fogg, for an excursion on the lake. ingly sultry day, and made enjoyment possible. Lake of the lake are the Clyde, Barton and Black rivers, of the lake are the Ciyue, Darton and Diack Pivers.

What we fear for the colored people of Missouri and its waters find their way to the St. Lawrence will be the case too much in Kentucky, Tennessee, through the St. Francis river. As we have said

"With mountains round about environed".

but the pressure for time was too great to permit even the most zealous of the party to climb the mountain. Champlain, the rivers St. Lawrence and St. Francis, and, on a clear day, even the glistening spires of Montreal. The "Mountain Maid" made several landings on both sides the lake, affording excellent opportunities for the enjoyment of its varied beauties: its bold headlands,-the picturesque islands that gem its placid waters,-the pleasant villas and well cultivated farms on its eastern shore, which testified to the natural fertility of the soil and to careful husbandry, with the verdure-clad hills on the western side, where the sombre hue of the evergreens was relieved by the lively green of the deciduous trees, while here and there a solitary maple flung out its banner of scarlet and gold, prophesying of the autumnal glory of the woods. Some of the party were disappointed in the character of the scenery, having looked forward to a visit to "forests primeval,"-to the sight of deer in their native wilds, and, perchance, to exciting adventures with bears, or other predatory roamers of the forest. They had anticipated another Moosehead. and found a second Winnipesaukee. But it is praise enough for this northern lake to say that it may contest for the paim of beauty with Winnipesaukeethe mirror of God's love."

About noon, the steamer reached Magog, the outlet of country that skirts the Gulf of Mexico, for some of the lake, where there is a water privilege of great value, equal in power to that at Manchester and Lawrence. Here, if before there had been any doubt as to the civilization of this region, the question was set at rest by the spectacle of a hoop skirt factory, (the enterprise-how fit !- of some fugitives from the draft on this side the line,) and of a tobacco patch! A substantial lunch was provided for the company on board the boat; and, after an hour pleasantly spent in ram bling over the village, the steamer's bell summoned them once more to the boat, for the return. In the course of the afternoon, the inevitable speech-making civil war, owning one acre of soil, managing a single took place, (Gov. Smyth very acceptably occupying the chair,) and brief responses were made by several gentlemen to toasts appropriate to the occasion. Resolutions of thanks were also passed to the officers race that has redeemed it from the hands of nature, whose kindness and voluntary good offices the party of the various railroads, and other gentlemen, to were indebted for the pleasures of the day. An in whole State of Florida contains only about one white duction of one of the oldest settlers to the company, teresting incident of the proceedings was the introland lie as neglected as when the Spaniard first laid sea-serpent on the lake, with a dramatic power that Gough could hardly surpass, and a strength of faith and freedom of manner truly refreshing in this age of unbelief and rigid conventionalism.

The boat reached Newport again about seven o'clock, and the company disembarked, and hastened to relieve the well-filled tables of the Memphramagog House of their burden. The evening was spent in conversation, and (by the younger portion of the party) in dancing.

We ought to say a word of Newport and its neighborhood, and will say it here. The village is a settlement of but four years' growth, yet it contains one rious the Africo-American future may be, with the appliances of seaports, cities, towns, railways, schools thriving place. Limestone abounds, and quite a traffic is carried on in lime, which is burnt in kilns on brains of the descendants of those who died far out of sight of the promised land! Will not the philan-found in the vicinity, and some portions of the counfound in the vicinity, and some portions of the country are said to be auriferous, but the gold has not yet made its appearance in sufficient quantity to stimulate Our last page will be found wholly occupied adventure. These mineral resources wait but the with the proceedings of the First of August celebra- capitalist, and the skilled laborer who comes at his bidding, for their development. The agricultural ca-

pabilities of the country are great, and who road is carried through to its jun Grand Trunk, a distance of some is consummation, we are confi future, if there is any virtue in intell unflagging perseverance,) there can great increase in the productions of When completed, this road will make a co rail communication between New York and Q. almost on a straight line, and doubtless mach traffic between these two important points vil

On Saturday morning, the party bade in the lake, and turned their faces homeward, separate at various points along the route; each and a at various points mong the robust twen and it is cannot doubt, rejoicing in the strengthene of friendships, the formation of new ties of broken and a store of pleasant memories to make the

The publication of the following letter in een accidentally delayed since its recein

no longer exists for its continuar

master will have to repent of the sins and errors of

Yours with great respect,

formerly of 308 Broadway, N. f.

"God, I thank thee that I am not as other men are." To D. M.: The above would have been an approiate heading for your letter to Rev. John Ware, in the Liberator. I cannot see in it, or in the fact of yes having disturbed a loyal congregation, of which you were not a member, anything liberal. My object is addressing you is to refute your unjust, unch and pharisaical "flings" at Mr. Ware, and his con-

people of the South. The congregation, when h took charge, was small, but by his manly course and by his bold advocacy of anti-slavery and other reforms, in the pulpit and in private, he has drawn around him a large congregation, and a great circle friends and admirers; not composed entirely Northern people, educated in liberal ideas, but inclu ing many native Southerns, who are abolitionists and reformers from conviction.

without consulting their feelings. His sermons have emboldened other ministers to take the same manif

I deem this defence of Mr. Ware due to him and his old friends of Massachusetts; and that you may Roxbury, Mass., Aug. 8., 1865.

UST 11

aces homeward, separating e route; each and all, we the strengthening of of new ties of brotherhood

account of a delightful ex-ress our special obligations eral railroads forming the the lake, and particularly 1 A. H. Perry, Esq., the A. Perry, Eq., the ent of the Connecticut and ad, (who accompanied the purreey and kindnes; also, b. Buck & Pindar, of the and fast, but not by any riend, J. E. Pecker, Esq. rrangements for the excur r whose intelligent supe out to so successful and

POWLER, THE EMI-ENOLOGIST. f the following letter he N, (Eng.) April 24, 1865. LOYD GARRISON t years found your paper

which I have gained impor e affairs of e affairs of my country,
I must tell you that I read
could be discontinued, after
ngled feelings of pain and e Liberator was a hour has come to me over the r of glad tidings, and it is stopped—pleasure, because paper, thirty years ago, changes which have taken ple, because you have done

about the desired results. have done. You have wor r's labors, bearing opposiumny when the cause was lit in being an Abolition d to see the fruits of your ejolce to hear that you had arleston, Raleigh, Colum e thought has occurred to g the Liberator altogether ged to " The Libe il want a medium through xperience, give their views icings as they become ed-

throughout England. I have always defended the such throughout the comrs, in every course of lecendeavored to state the ough surrounded by secesave spoken of the leader ent, and showed the porbrought down the house." the papers here have pubat Lee, with his army, has re is a prospect of peace have had in every part of us event! How appropri arred on the anniversary o red! The Southern sym feel quite "chop-fallen ly the Confederate bond pocket their loss the best ange it will make in Amerreed bondman is to be edrivileges as the white man ster has hereafter to do his orkmen. The aristocracy brought low, the negre master in privileges, and in this fact, that he has

is degradation, while the ain our President and his operly guide the military hey may have wisdom in plicated difficulties thrown e negotiations, in securing g a due regard of humani y really belong! nabled to go to Fort Sumlag on that renowned old ou feel that God is on the uth ultimately will prevail.

reat respect, L. N. FOWLER, f 308 Broadway, N. Y. "D M."

am not as other men are." ould have been on appro er to Rev. John Ware, it in it, or in the fact of your ongregation, of which you ng liberal. My object in your unjust, unchristian Mr. Ware, and his con

knew, at the time they ld preach new ideas to the e congregation, when he by his manly course and anti-slavery and other rein private, he has drawn ation, and a great circle o ot composed entirely o liberal ideas, but includwho are abolitionists and

in Baltimore has consist is pulpit his opposition to reforms as he believed it n of his congregation to, ings. His sermons bave to take the same manly

Ir. Ware due to him and setts; and that you may the class for whom you w me to say that I am a slaveholding secessionist, and advocated, in Maryof Abraham Lincoln. I of Abraham Lincoln. I frage. Of such material and friends mostly com-eadily see that trimming on the tolerated. The doc-hold be acceptable to the theory of the Disciples," and and of his course in Balti-consequent thereupes. 1865.

LETTER FROM HON. N. H. WHITING.

MARSHFIELD, July 80, 1865.

CHARLES K. WHIPPLE, Esq. : DEAR SIR: - When I saw you in Boston a few days ago, I gave you permission to advertise me as Emancipation in the West Indies, which you propose to keld at Abington on the first of August. As the time approaches, I find that my health and voice are and sufficient to justify me in the attempt to speak in the open air; and, as the best substitute I can offer, send you on paper the substance of what might have been said in speech, had the "divinity that shapes our ends" made time and circumstance of

The auspicious event in the world's progress which se have commemorated now for many years, has, at ast, been overshadowed, and, at least partially, plinsed by the great deliverance which the stern neessities of war have wrought in these terrible four years, for black men, and for white men as well. The terling apothegm of our martyr President, "If starry is not wrong, then nothing is wrong," was afned of a system which rests on the monstrous posmalate that there is, or may be, something in a man ererything, indeed, that makes bim a sentient, reaoning, producing creature-which does not belong to hin-is not subject to his volition, nor to be used for his needs,-but is the property of another, subservient to the interest or caprice of his owner. That rsten, so tersely described by John Wesley as " the sun of all villanies," has been broken and pulverized by the iron hammer of war which had been invoked its friends to rivet more strongly its fetters, and extend its weary chain, with the slave-coffle, across the continent and around the world.

We sing paans to-day, then, not merely for the liberation of eight hundred thousand, but for four millions of slaves, as the immediate result of the real convulsion through which we have just passed. The yawning gulf of "chaos and old night" opened at our feet; and it could only be closed by the sacrifee of untold thousands of the nation's most precious hildren. That fruitful parent of all our woes is dead. On us and our children is placed the responsibility of seeing that it never has a resurrection.

The Dec'aration of Public Law has gone forth, wherever the stars and stripes of the American Union fant on the breezes of heaven, "that all men are born " It is affirmed with an emphasis like the sound of many waters, in contradistinction from the infamous postulate with which slavery went forth to battle minst the civilization of the age,-it is proclaimed that there is something in every man, constituting the inherent, essential qualities of his human nature, which belongs to himself, and which cannot be bought and sold in the market, or made to minister to the cupidity and avarice of another.

The part of the great problem now lying unsolved

amediately before us is to determine what is that maching which belongs to every man. Is it not a right to the best use of all the faculties God has given t-the right to choose the form of government under which he shall live? the right to home and family-to free thought, free speech, and free worship? The right, in fine, to everything essential to growth and happiness which the Commonwealth can furnish ? This is what we have claimed for the slave. So ours, n its last analysis and result, is a complete and uniersal reform. Thus our work is but just begun. The Reformer can truly say, with Emerson, that "he is an endless Seeker with no past at his back." With be done. His work is that of criticism of the actual, and a perpetual demand for the realization of the But his is ever the attitude of hope, not of despair. His appeal is for justice always and every-With the Hindoo of Eastern story, he says, I cleave to Right as the sure ladder that leads up to man and to God." He acknowledges and accepts the good that is done; but he is on the alert to point the rocks and quicksands that still lie along the othway of the man and the nation. He rejoices. with a joy that can find no verbal expression, in that new morning of freedom before which the night of savery is rapidly fading away; but he says, "To my eye there are still some lurid streaks in the expanding sunlight which are ominous of future tempests ad convulsions in the 'reconstructed' Union." And this brings me to the string upon which I conceive we

gro suffrage. We owe the negro far more than we can ever py for the victory we now enjoy. When our great war began, it was predicted that whichever parsucceeded in securing the assistance of the negroes ould surely conquer. The peculiar nature of the conflict enabled us to see and act upon this " military necessity" first. And so we have won. But I venture to say that the valor and endurance of all the white soldiers we sent into the field, though perhaps herer exceeded in the history of the world, and upled with the marvellous resources which the Govtrament has otherwise developed and brought into play, would not have been sufficient, and the rebels would have succeeded in their nefarious work of breaking the Union into fragments, if the armed hand the negro had not been thrown into our scalethe element of weakness in the South was the slave. This element Abraham Lincoln, of blessed memory, seized upon, and attached to the loyal cause; and so

are to pound in our "rub-a-dub agitation" of the

present hour-that is the question of equal, or ne

the hour of victory came, and the nation is saved. For this we promised the negro his liberty. Shall he have it in fact, or only in form? It is proposed to eave him, with this name alone, at the mercy of the white population of the rebellious States, smarting under their defeat, and exasperated to madness by the knowledge that their overthrow has been accomplished by the aid which their former slaves gave to the natonal cause,-it is proposed to leave these faithful and indispensable auxiliaries in such bands, without homes, without land, without any law in whose maximent and administration they have any voice, sterally bound hand and foot, with not even the poor tion which the interest and lurking humanity of

be former master gave them. Against this be it ours to protest, as an act of injusthe so cruel, of meanness so despicable, that it may sell be called the crowning shame of the ages. No and no people can ever prosper after consenting oit. Now is the time to cry aloud on this subject. we cannot protect the emancipated blacks now, in first flush of conscious triumph, when gratitude our salvation is unchecked by the cupidity of pertal or party interest, we shall never voluntarily do It can only be wrung from our heart's blood, or of our children.

laske no account of this plea of State Rights in of national justice to the negro. There are no 78. They deliberately committed suicide. There tothing left but so much territory belonging to the on, and sundry defeated rebels, without one naal or State right but to be tried and punished for eit crimes. The machinery of those States can eter be put in motion again except by the consent overnment against which they rebelled. Never is a clearer case. We used to say we were not msible for the treatment of the blacks at the South. at plea can never be entered again. Of all the ple on the planet, we are just the ones who have matter in charge. In the name of good faith, amon honesty, and the public safety, let us see to that whoever is left "out in the cold" under the order of things, it shall not be the only thorhighly loyal people in the rebellious South. They ang to the starry flag in its darkest hour. Through the heavy night of doubt, and almost of despair, so often shut down on the Union cause, those lick faces were always the symbol of loyalty and The curses of all that is good will light upon a if we leave them in their hour of need to the tenmercies of the " mean whites" of the South, and he meaner " copperheads " of the North. Nobody should be forsaken or neglected who l

done anything to aid the Union in its mortal peril; but it is especially our mission as reformers-as abolitionists-to see that justice is done to those poor black men, who, though laboring under the terrible disabilities of relentless prejudice and grinding servi-

tude, by their sublime patience, courage and fidelity made it possible for the nation to live. We flatter ourselves with the notion that the result

of the conflict through which we have just passed is of the conflict through which we have just passed is the triumph of democracy—of the people—over despotism and caste. This gives it not merely a nation—

'You are invited to meet, with several gentlemen potism and caste. This gives it not merely a national, but a human and world-wide significance. Thus our star becomes a cynosure of hope and promise to the struggling people everywhere. But let us have no more of that sham democracy which, with niggardly selfishness, confines itself to snarling at the New York, July 26, 1865.'

'You are invited to meet, while the conficer of the house No. 9 Broad st., on Monday, the 31st instant, at 4 P. M., to devise means for the fair and full defence of Jefferson Davis and his associates, so that whatever happens, justice may be done.

New York, July 26, 1865.' aristocracy of birth, or wealth, or literature,—"I am as good as you," and at the same time despises the poor of other races and nations. Give us rather that genuine life—that pure democracy—which goes down to the bottom of society, and, in the spirit of the Great Reformer whose light streams through the centuries from the cross of Calvary to the outcast and oppressed of all races and climes, says, "You are as good as I of all races and climes, says, " You are as good as I. You are a man and a brother. You are an heir to sublimer possibilities of activity and achievement than ever prophet dreamed or poet sang. Come up, my ever prophet dreamed or poet sang. Come up, my poor brother! Enter and take possession of your inheritance." This is the true democracy. How much of it is to be embodied in the life of this nation? Enough to save it, and make it commensurate with the wants of the human race? The answer is with each and all. The problem is the "riddle of man." The duty of life is to aid in its solution.

Yours in that work,

N. H. WHITING.

"The Safeguards of Personal Liberty."
This is the title of a manly and eloquent Address delivered by Hon. William D. Kelley, at Concert Hall, in Philadelphia, on the evening of June 22, and the first of a series of pamphlets on the important subject in the result of the prove that the Southern States had the right to seeded.

Another present.

The object of the meeting was to raise funds to meet the expenditures to be incurred in the defence of Jeff. Javis. The following committee was appointed for that purpose: C. Godfrey Gunther, Mayor of New York: Carlos Butterfield, Theodore Martine, Messrs. Douglass and Clancy.

A general conversation followed, upon the signification of the trial of Jefferson Davis. It was, they world's history. Every lover of liberty in Europe and America had an interest in it. They were on trial. The celebrated trial of Warren Hastings would sink into insignificance compared with that of Jefferson Davis.

Mr. Cutler declared the Declaration of Independence to be the Magna Charta of human liberty, and quoted it to prove that the Southern States had the right to seed the carried of the meeting was to raise funds to meet the expenditures to be incurred in the defence of Jeff. Javis. The following committee was appointed to felt the expenditures to be incurred in the defence of Jeff. Javis. The following committee was appointed to be first one pour lands. The clebrated the properties of Jefferson Davis. It was, the world's history. Every lover of liberty in Europe and America had an interest in it. They were on trial. The celebrated trial of Warren Hastings would sink into ever prophet dreamed or poet sang. Come up, my

Another person, one of the New Yorkers, remarked that the State of New York refused to enter the Fednew publishing. A gratuitous distribution will be made to all who desire to read on the subject. Those, however, who wish to aid the cause, can do so by donations to the Publishing Committee, consisting of Another of the New Yorkers declared that even in Another of the New Yorkers, remarked that the State of New York refused to enter the Fednew Yorkers, remarked that the State of New York refused to enter the Yorkers, remarked that the State of New York refused to enter the Yorkers, remarked that the State of New York refused to enter the Yorkers, remarked that the State of New York refused to enter the Yorkers, remarked that the State of New York refused to enter the Yorkers, remarked that the State of New York refused to enter the Yorkers, remarked that the State of New York refused to enter the Yorkers, remarked that the State of New York refused to enter the Fedness to the Yorkers, remarked that the State of New York refused to enter the Fedness to the Yorkers, remarked that the State of New York refused to enter the Fedness to the Yorkers, remarked that the State of New York refused to enter the Fedness to the Yorkers, remarked that the State of New York refused to enter the Yorkers, remarked that the State of New York refused to enter the Yorkers and Yorkers and Yorkers are the Yorkers are the Yorkers are the Yorkers and Yorkers are the Y

cification of the country, Judge Kelley deserves all praise. We believe him to be thoroughly in earnest, and do not doubt that he will be true to his pledge-"For myself, as God is my judge, I will never consciously cast a vote in the American Congress that shall favor the admission of a representative from a reconstructed State under an oligarchic or aristocratic constitution." In reply to the slang charge of having "nigger on the brain," Judge Kelley nobly replies as follows :-

"I think I hear some one say, 'Oh, you have nigger on the brain, and now you are beginning to plead for the nigger!' God forbid that I should forget the for the nigger: God foroid that I should forget the existence of nearly five millions of human beings who know every sorrow that I know, and every joy that I may feel, and who look through the same narrow way to enduring happiness. Thank God! I do not forget their existence, and I do not fail to plead for them. But, my white brethren, allow me to assure you that it is you for whom I am pleading now, because you are more numerous than they. The colored people of America number about five millions; the white are more numerous than they. The colored people of America number about five millions; the white people over twenty-five millions; and as five is worth more than one, I plead for the five, and embrace the sixth, and plead for him too. It is not the negro alone I, have 'on the brain;' it is him and the white man; t is mankind, and not any single race or class of me

We have received-in a neatly printed pam let-the Proceedings of the Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends, held at Longwood, Chester County, Pa., in June last-in which it was our privilege to participate. We shall publish, in the next Liberator, the "Testimonies" adopted on the occasion. These were on the following subjects: -1. Religion. 2. Slavery and the Rebellion. 3 The Rights of Woman. 4. Memorials for Equal Suffrage. 5. The Assassination of President Lincoln. 6. Temperance. 7. Peace. 8. In Memoriam. 9. The Freedmen. Appended is an interesting and instructive discourse by George Thompson, Esq.

DEATH OF HEZEKIAH GRICE. We regret to learn, by a letter from his son, that this very respectable, intelligent and enterprising colored American, who been mardered in cold blood by Western soldiers.

A New Yorker asked Mr. Livingston how Alabama many years since emigrated to Hayti, and took an efficient part in industrial matters in that republic, died at Port-au-Prince on the 23d of May, after a brief illness. We became acquainted with him in Baltimore in 1829, and have ever since held him in high estimation. Physically and mentally, he was "every inch a man," and won the respect of all who knew inch a man," and won the respect of all who knew inch a man," and won the respect of all who knew inch a man," and won the respect of all who knew inch a man, and won the respect of all who knew inch a man, and won the respect of all who knew inch a man, and won the respect of all who knew inch a man, and won the respect of all who knew inch and the man inch and the next election in the most election in

A correspondent of the Boston Journal, in giving an account of the Philomathæan Society exhibition at Andover Seminary, July 21, says-" Among the speakers was Richard T. Greener of Boston, (colored,) who showed great depth of thought and much research in the manner in which he handled his subject-' The Teachings of History."

An unsuccessful attempt to abduct that infanous wretch, George N. Sanders, for whose arrest as an alleged participant in the assassination of President Lincoln a large reward was offered by the Government, was made at Montreal a few days since .-

NEGRO SUFFRAGE. The Atlantic Monthly, for August, contains a forcibly written paper on "Reconstruction and Negro suffrage," the first half of which may be found on our first page.

A GOOD SIGN. A leading citizen of Virginia, in a recent letter, writes thus of Mr. Sumner's pamphlet, entitled, "Security and Reconciliation for the Fu-

"I thank him for convincing me, very much against my will, that to allow immediate representa-tion to the rebel States would be a cruel breach of faith and honor to the freedmen, and that we of the South must be just to these poor people, and submit to a genuine republican government before we deserve admission again into the American family."

John Stuart Mill, the eminent author, just elected to Parliament, is in favor of female suffrage. But that did not alarm Englishmen into defeating

of the Atlantic cable had been payed out, when insulation was lost-cause unknown. Further particulars

THE LIBERATOR.

THE JEFF, DAVIS MEETING. The New York Post publishes the following aworn tatement of Robert Brown, one of the attendants upon the Jeff. Davis meeting in that city the other

" State of New York, City and Co. of New York, ss. Robert Brown, of said city and county of New York, being duly sworn, deposeth and saith:

On Morday, the 31st of July, 1865, he attended a

After some delay, it was remarked that it would

Another person, one of the New Yorkers, remarked

nations to the Publishing Committee, consisting of William Still, 107 N. Fifth street; J. C. White, Sr., Philadelphia Institute, Lombard street; and S. Morgan Smith, N. W. corner of Sixth and Walnut streets.

Among those who have been foremost and strongest in the advocacy of negro suffrage as a right not to be withheld, and a policy essential to the safety and particularly and and particularly

eral Constitutions of free States the expressed right to secede.

A running conversation followed this statement, in which it was said that the effect of the trial of Davis would be a revolutionary sentiment everywhere in favor of the South. It would be proved on the trial that the secession cause was right, and entitled to the sympathies of the world. One of the company (Mr. Cutler, if I remember rightly.) quoted a passage from Burke, to show that a State cannot be guilty of treason.

Mr. Livingston, now wrought up to a high pitch Mr. Livingston, now wrought up to a high pitch of enthusiasm, made the declaration—'In twenty-five years, the man that now accuses the South of having committed treason will be looked upon as a madman and a fool.' He repeated this declaration, saying that in fifty years the revolution in popular sentiment would be so great, that such a man would be looked upon as a madman or a fool.

One of the New Yorkers denounced the execution of Mrs. Surratt as a cold, deliberate murder. Another declared that she was convicted upon forged testimony. A third (Martine) asserted that the court by which she was tried had no legal jurisdiction, and that the execution was a deliberate murder.

Mr. Livingston said that he had conversed with a number of Englishmen in regard to this brutal murder. They told him that it would send a thrill of horror throughout Europe, and the howl of indignation that will be sent back would so cower and terrify the American Government that it will be afraid to bring

American Government that it will be afraid to bring Mr. Davis to trial. He believed that the intention was to keep him lingering in prison till he died, without bringing him to trial. The friends of Mr. Davis must keep such an agitation of the matter stirring, that the Government would be forced to put him on with sinker forthers delay. trial without further delay.

Mr. Cutler said that he had been of opinion that

trial without further delay.

Mr. Cutler said that he had been of opinion that the Government would bring Davis to trial before the District Court of the District of Columbia. But it had been ascertained that a Democrat (Judge Wylie) had been appointed one of the Judges; and hence the Government would not dare let him be tried there. It was probable that Mr. Chase would hold the court. The conversation took another turn; and 'Black Republicanism' was taken up. The question of negro suffrage, it was predicted, would divide the 'Black Republicans.'

Republicans. Mr. Livingston said that he had conversed with a great number of Western soldiers. He found that their hatred for the 'nigger' was more intense than even that of Southern men. He would mention a fact that had come under his cognizance: within a short

He then paid a glowing tribute to 'the noble-heart-ed women of Mobile.' 'They look down,' he said, 'with scornful contempt upon a Yankee officer, and suffer no advance from them, taking care, of course, to give no cause or pretext for arrest. The feeling is universal that no damned Yankee must be allowed a foothold in the South.' These are not my words; I am not a swearing man. am not a swearing man. As the meeting was about to break up, Mr. Livings-

ton remarked : 'Gentlemen, ton remarked:
Gentlemen, you will want a great deal of money.
I am on my way to England for the purpose of raising funds. This great work must go on. The Government must not be allowed to shirk the trial. I can promise you with confidence that I will furnish you

with the requisite amount.

One of the New Yorkers replied to this that there would be no difficulty in raising the money in this

Two of the abductors were arrested.

A further opportunity for private conversation was held, of which no account can be given.

The Southern men present were all of them open and avowed secessionists. The Northern men at the meeting were in the most perfect accord of sentiment and sympathy with them. There was not the slightest perceptible shade of difference between any of them. They were all ultra and unequivocal secessionists.

Subscribed and sworn before me this 4th day of August, 1865.

JOHN BUTCHER,

Notary Public, City and County of New York.

Mr. Robert Brown, who exposed the Jeff. Davis meeting in New York, is one of Superintendent Kennedy's detectives. Set to watch this conclave of traitors and sympathizers, he did his duty well, and the upshot is that their scheme is ruined, and the cause they espoused scriously damaged.

Davis and His Friends. The meeting of the New York adorers and admirers of Jefferson Davis proves to have been a genuine affair, after all, and if not huge in numbers, was sufficiently violent in spirit. The informant of the New York Evening Post, who of course was doubted and denounced by the friends of Davis, comes out in a full statement, giving full particulars, which we copy. The Jeff. Davis party is evidently on the increase in the North. He has some ardent supporters even here. "The stern statesman" would not long lack a volunteer attorney if he were tried in our courts. And at any meeting But that did not alarm Englishmen into defeating him. A good deal of personal freedom of opinion is conceded by an English constituency.

A call for a National Convention, to be composed of three delegates from each Congressional District in the country, to devise means for securing the voting privilege to the colored people, is being extensively signed and circulated in Norfolk, Portsmouth and other parts of Southeastern Virginia.

The Port Royal New South says the negroes on St. Helena Island have armed themselves for self-protection.

The Atlantic Cable. Intelligence from Liverpool via Queenstown, 30th ult. reports that 700 miles of the Atlantic cable had been payed out, when insuthe presiding apostles and priests .- Phil. Pri

had not transpired.

A New York contemporary says that the idea of the Mayor acting on a committee to raise funds to defend the traitor who dispatched his agents to burn that city is monstrous, and that it should as soon think of raising money to defend Judas Iscariot.

SLAVERY IN KENTUCKY. General John N. Palmer, commanding the Department of Kentucky, has addressed a letter to President Johnson, in answer to the charge that the Provost Marshals of his department were in the practice of issuing "free papers" to colored persons without regard to the legal right of those receiving them to freedom. It is a foreible paper, and contains many freedom. It is a forcible paper, and contains many important facts. We give it below. The orders which he refers to we do not find in our exchanges

HEADQUARTERS
DEPARTMENT OF KENTUCKY,
Louisville, Kentucky, July 27, 1865. To His Excellency Andrew Johnson, President of the United States:

United States:

Sir: I have already by telegram acknowledged your dispatch of yesterday, containing copy of a dispatch of Mr. Price, which states that Provost Marshals issue "free papers" to negroes indiscriminately. I refer you to my dispatch, in which I say no "free papers" are issued by any officers of this department, which, though literally true, does not quite meet the facts as they are.

I forward you my General Orders Nos. 32 and 40. Under these orders many passes have been issued by Provost Marshals, &c., to negroes who hold them; and, I am told, in many cases they regard and act upon them as free papers.

pon them as free papers. HOUSANDS OF NEGROES ABANDONING THE STATE

THOUSANDS OF NEGROES ABANDONING THE STATE.

The reasons for issuing Order 32 will be found on the face of the order, but the reasons which influenced the Mayor and his friends to apply to me do not. Large numbers of negroes were then in Louisville, from the surrounding country, who had escaped from, or repudiated the authority of, their masters.

The Mayor and others desired my approval of a plan they had arranged for the general enforcement of the laws against vagrancy, and the law which forbids slaves to go at large and hire themselves out as free persons. To have enforced these laws would have produced great misery and alarm amongst the blacks. To leave the negroes in the city would have alarmed the fears of the clitzens, who were beforehand taught to think their presence would cause pestilence. They sought to make me responsible for either consequence.

To avoid both, I issued Order No. 82. Under it wer 5000 negroes have crossed the Ohio river at this

Before the 4th of July, an impression got abroad amongst the negroes throughout the State that on that day they would all be made free. Inflamed by this belief thousands of them left their masters' houses, and came into our posts at different points in the State. Every nook and hiding-place at such places as Camp Nelson, Lexington, Frankfort, Bowling Green, Munfordville, &c., was filled with them. They were without work or means; and the greater the number and the more destitute they were, the more the people resisted employing them. I was compelled, from these causes, to issue General Order No. 49, and the "free papers" referred to in, the telegram of Mr.

I think and respectfully submit that it is impossible, I think and respectfully submit that it is impossion under the existing state of facts here, to enforce the laws of the State in reference to slaves and slavery. At the beginning of the war, Kentucky had about two hundred and thirty thousand slaves—

our reports show number of negro enlist-

120,137 belonged to rebels, and are, therefore,

From this small number ought still to be taken a percentage for the thousands who have escaped from

For the sake of keeping the small number in sub-jection to masters, the whole race in the State are most cruelly oppressed and outraged under color of laws which render freedom to a negro in Kentucky

I have felt it my duty to give protection to this large I have felt it my duty to give protection to this large free population as far as possible, but in doing so I have been, on occasions, compelled to do acts which, in effect, greatly impair the tenure of the small number of persons who are still technically masters of slaves. Indeed, it must be admitted that many slaves have left the State under Orders number 32 and 49, which are enclosed, and every decision I make in favor of a negro seems to start a host of individual cases which comes within the same principle.

THE STATUS OF NEGROES IN KENTUCKY. In short, slavery has no actual existence in Ken-tucky, and if the constitutional amendment is defeat-ed at the election, the whole active colored population will fly unless I employ the troops to prevent it, and u have not, and will not be likely to order that

be done.

To illustrate the effect of any fair rule upon the status of slavery in Kentucky, I will advert to the effect of one rule which I am compelled to recognize

fect of one rule which I am compelled to recognize and observe.

By the laws of Kentucky—laws once, when all were slaves, just enough in their application—all negroes were presumed to be slaves. Now a large majority are certainly free. To presume slavery from color alone is contrary to justice; to presume freedom without regard to color, and give protection accordingly, is to end slavery. I am often called upon to afford protection where there is no proof at hand, and am compelled to presume one way or the other.

I submit these difficulties to meet some of the complaints which will probably reach you from the loyal people of Kentucky.

I have the honor to be,

I have the honor to be, Very respectfully, J. M. PALMER,

Major General Command

EX-SENATOR FOOTE ON NEGRO SUF-FRAGE.

Ex-Senator Foote, of Tennessee, who is now reluctantly chewing "the cud of sweet and bitter fancy" in Canada, for want of permission to return to
the United States, and who has indicted a good many
long epistles on the public, is out with a letter to Mr.
A. O. P. Nicholson of Tennessee. He discusses the
state of the South in general, and the subject of negro suffrage in particular. He says slavery is clearly
now at an end, and its revival impossible, and the
sooner the South realizes this fact the better. But,
more than this—

"We must, in order to be free ourselves, agree never hereafter to interfere with the freedom of others. We must amend our State Constitutions as soon as possible, and embody therein our consent that the four millions of bondsmen and bondswomen heretofore existing upon Southern soil shall be henceforth as free in all respects as those of the white race who lately dominated over them; in other words, we must formally recognize the state of things already existing, and bind ourselves to do nothing to disturb it in all future time. We must, in order to assure our own return to liberty and happiness, not only recognize the

future time. We must, in order to assure our own return to liberty and happiness, not only recognize the colored denizens of the South as now free, but we must allow them the same means of preserving their freedom that we ourselves desire to possess. They must be freemen in fact as well as in name.

We must consent to their being invested with the elective franchise; and this must be done, too, no matter what cherished notions we may entertain in regard to the mental inferiority of those whom some of us have heretofore regarded as the doomed posterity of Ham. Nor can we now safely talk about carrying them through a course of special tutelage and probation, such as I understand you to recommend, ere we make them our own equals before the law of the land. These are not at all matters for our regulation, but are

make them our own equals before the law of the land. These are not at all matters for our regulation, but are to be attended to by those who hold in their hands exclusively the sword and the purse of the nation.

I tell you, my dear sir, and through you I wish to urge upon the whole mass of my fellow-countrymen of the South, that these things must be done by us, else our States will not be allowed to have senators and representatives in Congress, or even be permitted, without molestation, to administer their own mnicipal concerns. This, I say to you emplantically, is a settled matter; it is res judicata, and there is no appeal for us in the case."

Mr. Foote concludes with a plea for equal rights to negroes, on the ground that it will open a glorious era for the South:

"Our true friends and our future allies in the North are those who are now pleading in our behalf for inse

at all doubt the complete success of the new system of labor now being introduced in the South; nor do I agree with those who apprehend any great injury of any kind as likely to arise from the proposed extension of the elective franchise to both classes of our Southern population alike.

I doubt not at all that with proper judgment, diligence and thrift, Southern plantations will be as prosperous under the new system of agricultural labor as they ever were under the old one; and I am decidedly of an opinion that there will be as little of fraud and unfairness in our elections hereafter in the Southern States, and upon the whole as judicious and beneficial an exercise of the right of suffrage as there has ever heretofore beca."

LETTER FROM ROBERT TYLER. The Richmond Republic contains the following sensible letter from Robert Tyler, whillom of Philadelphia, and more recently Register of the so-called Confederate Treasury:—

RICHMOND, VA., August 2, 1865. To the Editors of the Republic:—Without assigning special reason, I take the liberty, respectfully but most earnestly, to advise that no person who has held a commission in civil or military service of the late Confederate Government shall permit himself to be a candidate for the Legislature, either Federal or State at the commissions.

State, at the ensuing election.

It is true, as I believe, as a result of the recent struggle, that the entire people in Virginia have accepted the Union and Government of the United States in good faith. The institution of slavery has been extinguished. As matters now stand, I cannot perceive what possible danger to safety, or the peace of the country, could arise by allowing an absolute choice of representatives to the whole constituent body. But there are circumstances in the present state of general and national politics which make it imperatively necessary, in my opinion, that those citizens who were prominently identified with the cause of the Confederacy should exercise a rigid political abstinence at this time.

Very respectfully,

ROBERT TYLER.

WISE SOUTHERN ADVICE. The Mobile Regist before the rebellion, was the leading paper in the Gulf States, outside of New Orleans, and was probably the most influential of all. Its then editor, Hon. John Forsyth, has returned to his post, and is now writing with his accustomed vigor in favor of reorganization on the Government basis. In a late editorial he says:

EXPECTED EMANCIPATION ON INDEPENDENCE DAY.

Before the 4th of July, an impression got abroad amongst the negroes throughout the State that on that day they would all be made free. Inflamed by this belief thousands of them left their masters' houses, and came into our posts at different points in the State. Every nook and hiding-place at such places as Camp Nelson, Lexington, Frankfort, Bowling Green, Munfordville, &c., was filled with them. They were without work or means; and the greater the number and the more destitute they were, the more the people resisted employing them. I was compelled, from these causes, to issue General Order No. 42, and the "free papers" referred to in, the telegram of Mr. Price are merely the passes issued under that order. THEIR FREEDOM.

I have been greatly embarrassed in respect to the colored people by the acts and declarations of politicians and presses in the anti-administration interest. They have given the negroes extraordinary ideas of the purposes of the Government, by announcing in their speeches and columns that it was the intention of the Government to free them all, furnish them with food and clothing, and put them upon an equality with the whites. Invariably a conservative gathering in a neighborhood is followed by a stampede of negroes.

ONLY SIXTY-FOUR THOUSAND SLAVES IN KENTUCKY. I think and respectfully submit that it is impossible, under the existing state of facts here, to enforce the the edge of the sword and the voice of the nations of the earth seem to have united in promulgating."

COLORED SUFFRAGE. The convention of colored men which met last week at Alexandria, Va., in their appeal to the conscientious, sympathetic, and just judgment of the American people to be invested with the elective franchise, advance the following reasons why they should have authority to vote:—

"Because we can see no other safeguard for ou protection.

Because we are citizens of the country and natives of this State.

Because we are as well qualified to vote who shall be our rulers as many who do vote for that purpose, who have no interest in us, and know not our wants. Because our representation, as heretofore felt in Because our representation, as heretofore felt in longress, was not in accordance with our own wishes, nd therefore we feel that it is right and our privilege

and therefore we feel that it is right and our privilege to vote for the man who shall so represent us. Because we believe that the time has come when the colored people are to be felt as a power in this government, either for good or evil, and that there is no way so calculated to make him subservient for good as to make him a good and loyal citizen.

Because we believe it will be the means of restoring the balance of power, which shall harmonize the conflicting elements which are now so rife in the South.

look at the subject in its proper light, they will see the necessity of granting us this privilege, as they will find in us friends that will ever vote for men who shall be true to the State and loval to the United

States, and because nothing short of equality in law will ever secure to us the wants which every freeman needs and must enjoy, if he will be at peace at home and in the community in which he lives.

With these considerations, we do most respectfully and earnestly appeal first to the citizens of Virginia toat they give ear to our humble petition, that in the reconstruction of the laws of this State they do, in the prayers of this convention and before a just God, so harmonize their laws as there shall be no distinction before the law on account of color, and that every man may expect justice before the tribunals of the State; and then shall righteousness go forth as brightness and truth, as a lamp that burneth." brightness and truth, as a lamp that burneth

OUTRAGE ON A RETURND FUGITIVE SLAVE. The Tribune's Raleigh correspondent says a negro named Curry, who, some years since, made his escape from slavery, a few days since reappeared in his old neighborhood in search of his family, to take them to the North, when he was set upon by citizens, and nearly killed. He related his treatment to General Amos, who sent a squad of cavalry out, and had the assailants brought to him. Governor Holden then notified Gen. Ames that he had appointed justices of the peace to attend to such cases, and he had no doubt justice would be done; but Gen. Ames retains his prisoners. In the meantime a charge of assault and battery has been brought against Curry, and he too has been arrested and imprisoned by Gov. Holden's orders. len's orders.

Confessions of Dr. Mudd, O'Laughlin and Arnold. The New York Times' Washington dispatch says Gen. Dodd, who had charge of the conspirators on the trip to the Dry Tortugas, reports that Dr. Mudd confesses that he knew Booth when he came rators on the trip to the Dry Tortugas, reports that Dr. Mudd confesses that he knew Booth when he came to his house, but was afraid to tell of his being there, fearing that the life of himself and family would be endangered thereby. He also acknowledged that he was acquainted with Booth for some time, and was with Booth at the National Hotel on the evening referred to by Weichman; that he introduced Booth to John H. Surratt in the street, and then went to Booth's room in the National, where Surratt and Booth had a private conversation. He said the Military Commission had done their duty in his case, and the sentence was just.

O'Laughlin acknowledged that the Court had done its duty; but insisted that he was only implicated in the plot to capture the President. Arnold made a similar statement, saying that he believed the assassination was gotten up by Booth a few hours before executing it. Spangler insisted that he had nothing whatever to do with the assassination.

WHITE LABOR ON PLANTATIONS. We understand WHITE LABOR ON PLANTATIONS. We understand that on account of the demoralization of negro labor in many parts of the State, the white population have vigorously and industriously taken hold of the work themselves, and are producing some of the best crops now growing. The people are beginning to see, that under the new system of African labor, or want of system rather, no further dependence is to be put in that race, and they have resolved to do their work themselves.—New Orleans Picayane.

are those who are now pleading in our behalf for justice, and for a kindly and politic forbearance as to the past. If we fail not to be equal to the demands of the present critical exigency, we shall in a few short years at most find ourselves once more happy, and safe, and prosperous. For I am not among those who

MARRIED-In this city, July 19, by Rev. Wm. Thompon, Mr. Jerous Jerray, of Rochester, N. Y., to Mis-Haster C. Whitehuser, of Boston.

THE NATION.

WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, SCIENCE AND ART,

Will be published July 6, 1866. Its main objects will be--The discussion of the topics of the day, and, above

all, of legal, economical and constitutional questions, with greater accuracy and moderation than are now to be found in the daily press.

Second—The maintenance and diffusion of true democratic Second—The maintenance and diffusion of true democratic principles in society and government, and the advocacy and illustration of whatever in legislation or in manners seems likely to promote a more equal distribution of the fruits of progress and civilization.

Third—The earnest and persistent consideration of the

condition of the laboring classes at the South, as a matter of vital interest to the nation at large, with a view to the removal of all artificial distinctions between thom and the rest of the population, and the securing to them, as far as education and justice can do it, of an equal

Fourth-The enforcement and illustration of the doctrine that the whole community has the strongest interest, both moral, political and material, in their elevation, and that there can be no real stability for the republic so long as they are left in ignorance and degradation.

Fifth-The fixing of public attention upon the political importance of popular education, and the dangers which system like ours runs from the neglect of it in any por-

ion of our territory.

Sixth—The collection and diffusion of trustworthy information as to the condition and prospects of the Southern States, the openings they offer to capital, the supply and kind of labor which can be obtained in them, and

the progress made by the colored population in acquiring the habits and desires of civilized life. Seventh-Sound and impartial criticism of books and vorks of art. THE NATION will not be the organ of any party, seet r body. It will, on the contrary, make an earn to bring to the discussion of political and social questions really critical spirit, and to wage war upon the vices of

violence, exaggeration and misrepresentation, by which so much of the political writing of the day is marred. The criticism of books and works of art will form one of its most prominent features; and pains will be taken o have this task performed in every case by writers pos

easing special qualifications for it.

It is intended in the interest of investors, as well as of the public generally, to have questions of trade and finance treated every week by a writer whose position and character will give his articles an exceptional value, and render them a safe and trustworthy guide.

A special correspondent, who has been selected for his ork with some care, is about to start in a few days for journey through the South. His letters will appear every week, and he is charged with the duty of simply reporting what he sees and hears, leaving the public as far as possible to draw its own inferences.

The following writers, among others, have been secured. either as regular or occasional contributors :

HENRY W. LONGPELLOW. J. R. LOWELL, JOHN G. WHITTIER, SAMUEL ELIOT, (Ex-Pres. Trin. College, Hartford,) Prof. Tonney, (Harvard,) Dr. FRANCIS LIEBER, Prof. CHILD, (Harvard,)

CHARLES E. NORTON, Judge Bonn, (Baltimore,) EDNUND QUINCY, Prof. W. D. WHITNEY, (Yale.) Prof. D. C. GILMAN, (Yale,) Judge DALY, Prof. Dwight, (Columbia College,) Judge WAYLAND, FREDERICK LAW OLMSTED,

Rev. Dr. McCLINTOCK, Rev. Dr. Thompson, Rev. PHILLIPS BROOKS. Rev. Dr. BELLOWS, C. J. STILLE, HENRY T. TUCKERMAN, BAYARD TAYLOR, C. A. BRISTED. C. L. BRACE, WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, SYDNEY GEORGE FISHER,

THEODORE TILTON,

GAIL HAMILTON, &c. &c.

Torms, \$3 per annum. JOSEPH H. RICHARDS, Publisher No. 130 Nassau st., New York. June 16.

WOOL.

THE undersigned, late in the employ of Messra. Hallowell & Condust, having leased the lefts at Nov. 6 and 8 Channing Street, is prepared to do the Wool. Consistsion and BROKERAGE business

He takes this method of calling attention to his facilities for selling, his store being admirably located, and his sequaintance with manufacturers large. Consignments are respectfully solicited, and consignors are assured that all Wool sent to him will be carefully graded and faithfully handled. Liberal advances made when required.

Orders from manufacturers for the purchase of Fleece or Pulied Wools, either in the Boston, New York or Philadelphia markets, will receive immediate attention.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, Jg. References:

Messrs. Hallowell & Coburn, Boston.
Messrs. Hallowell, Prescott & Co. New York.
Messrs. Davis, Fiss & Banes, Philadelphia. Boston, July 14, 1865.

Ayer's Sarsaparilla Ayer's Sarsaparilla

Is a concentrated extract of the choice roots, as combined with other substances of still greater afterative power as to afford an effectual antidoto for diseases Sarsaparilla is reputed to cure. Such a remedy is surely wanted by those who suffar from Stramous complaints; and that one which will accomplish their cure must prove, as this has, of immense service to this large class of our afflicted pilow-citisens. How completely this compound will do it has been proven by experiment on many of the worst cases to be found in the following complaints:

Scrofula, Scrofulous Swellings and Sores, Skin Diseases, Pimples, Pustules, Blotches, Eruptions, St. Anthony's Fire, Rose or Erysipelas, Tetter or Salt Rheum, Scalt Head, Ringworm, &c.

Syphilis or Veneral Disease is expelled from the system

Syphilis or Venereal Disease is expelled from the system by the prolonged use of this Sansaparilla, and the patient is left in comparative health.

Female Diseases

tient is left in comparative health.

Female Discusses are caused by Scrofula in the blood, and are often soon cured by this Extract of Sarsaparilla.

Do not discard this invaluable medicine because you have been imposed upon by something pretending to be Sarsaparilla, while it was not. When you have used Aven's, then, and not till then, will you know the virtues of Sarsaparilla. For minute particulars of the discasses it cures, we refer you to Ayer's American Almanac, which the agent below named will furnish gratis to all who call for it.

Aven's Catharic Pills, for the cure of Costiveness, Jaundice, Dyspepsia, Indigestion, Dysentery, Foul Stomach, Headache, Piles, Rhenmatism, Heartburn arising from Disordered Stomach, Pain, or Morbid Inaction of the Bowels, Flatulency, Loss of Appetite, Liver Complaint, Dropsy, Worms, Gout, Neuralgia, and for a Dinner Pill.

They are sugar-coated, so that the most censitive can take them pleasantly, and they are the best Aperient in the world for all the purposes of a family physic.

Prepared by J. C. AYER & CO., Lowell, Mass., and old by all druggists.

Aug. 4. 2m. DR. DIO LEWIS'S FAMILY SCHOOL FOR YOUNG LADIES.

LEXINGTON, Mass. TWENTY superior Teachers, among whom are THEO-DORE D. WELD, formerly Principal of the Eagles-wood School, New Jersey, and L. N. CARLETON, former-ly of Phillips's Academy, Andover. Send for Catalogue and Circulars to Dr. Lewis.

August 11. HIGHLY IMPORTANT

INTENSELY INTERESTING! PIRITUALISM AS IT IS! Facts, Fancies and Fol-lies! A New Explanation. The result of Scientific Send 25 cents to WM. BAILEY POTTER, New York.

CELEBRATION OF WEST INDIA EMANCI-PATION.

On the 1st of August, as usual, the Massache Anti-Slavery Society called together the friends of freedom to celebrate the anniversary of the emanci-pation of West Indian slaves in 1834, by the British Government. They assembled in good numbers, both from the Boston and Plymouth sides, and the weath er for their purpose was all that could be desired.

Rev. SAMUEL MAY called the meeting to order, and proposed the following list of officers for its acceptance

President-ELBRIDGE SPRAGUE, of Abington Secretaries-Jas. M. W. YERRINTON, CHARLES K.

Finance Committee-Robert F. Wallout, Briog ARNOLD, SAMUEL DYER, N. B. SPOONER, J. G.

The vote being called for, these officers were una imously chosen. Mr. SPRAGUE, President of the meeting, having

taken the chair, prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Tom-LINSON, of Plymouth

### SPEECH OF REV. SAMUEL MAY.

The First of August has been a Saint's day with the Anti-Slavery people of America for full thirty years past, being observed by them more uniformly and generally than in England itself. The time has not quite come yet for us to discontinue its observance. As commemorative of a most auspicious event in the history of freedom, an event fraught with lessons of the greatest importance and interest to us in America at this immediate juncture, it yet has high claims upon us, and comes powerfully to our aid. Our people are not yet all anti-slavery, although the great majority of them are so, never to be flatter ed or driven into the recognition of slavery again. But, nationally considered, many questions raised by the Anti-Slavery movement of thirty years past are no yet settled,-even the chief of them all, the Abolition and Prohibition of Slavery throughout the land forever, by Constitutional Amendment, is not yet finally determined, although morally sure. In past years, we have been taught and encouraged

by the successes of Emancipation in the British West India islands. For, notwithstanding the unfavorable and hostile influences under which that "experiment" was made, (for an experiment the world generally regarded it,) every candid mind has admitted that, as a humane measure, as a social and economi cal reform, as a triumph of justice and right over cruelty, barbarism and crime, it has been a perfect success. I shall not dwell upon the facts in detail which prove these results. Let all who desire to see the subject treated by a writer quite free from any Anti-Slavery bias, and giving the facts from personal and careful observation, consult the "Ordeal of Free Labor in the British West Indies," by W. G. Sewell of New York: and he will find material for a satisfactory moral judgment of the case, as well as for the more commercial" one which Mr. Sewell chiefly undertakes to give. The "experiment" has been success ful, and acknowledged to be so by intelligent planters and candid witnesses in the islands themselves, men originally bitterly opposed to the measure. For nearly thirty years past the Abolitionists of this country have been wont to gather up these facts and evi dences, and present them in their meetings and publications, though for a long, long period scarcely a press in the land, and very few pulpits, gave the slightest aid to their diffusion.

To-day, we have little reason to go to the West India islands, or anywhere out of our own country, for an example of the happy and prosperous working of Emancipation. Our nation has tried for itself the experiment on a grander scale, and (I am fain to think) on a more just and comprehensive basis, than any other nation has done. And there are none so blinded, among patriotic and humane people, as to deny the immensely valuable results, in every direction, already accomplished by our Emancipation measures, incomplete as they yet are.

We look to West India Emancipation with another object to-day. It yet has its lessons to teach us. But whereas heretofore we have been taught and stimulated by its grand idea and its essential success,-today we should take warning by its mistakes, and consequent partial failures. For we may well believe that Emancipation, when conducted by a monarchical government, would not be as likely to be placed on the broad basis of equal human rights, as when undertaken and organized in a Republic, where its operation should be set in motion by the genius of a free and equal people, determined that there shall be no aristoeracies, no privileged orders, no master-class, but everywhere, in accordance with the Declaration of July 4, 1776, entire equality of all before the law. Now there is precisely that difference between the British Emancipation of August 1, 1834, and the American Emancipation of our day so gloriously commenc ed, and whose results, daily becoming more encour aging, are doubtless to grow brighter, until the full day of justice to all men in our land has come. Ever British Emancipation would not have been secured when it was, but for the existence of a powerful re ligious democracy, if I may call it so, in England which extorted Emancipation from a reluctant govern ment and a selfish and obstinate aristocracy. Even when granted, it was impaired first by the imposition of a heavy tax of twenty millions of pounds sterling as "compensation" to the planters, for a loss which really was no loss to any who accepted it in an intelli gent and liberal spirit; it was fettered in most of the colonies by the wretched apprenticeship system : and from first to last it has been hindered, and as far as possible thwarted, by artful contrivances on the part of the masters to retain their power in fact, even though they might have lost it in form. All these things conspire to show that the slaveholder, even after emancipation has taken his slave from him, CAN NOT BE TRUSTED with the care and duty of educating and elevating his former dependants, and doing them justice. In the British West Indies, stipendiary mag

istrates, appointed to oversee the workings of emar

cipation, too often inclined to take the masters' view

of questions arising, and under the "apprenticeship

cruel and severe punishments continued to be the rule rather than the exception. No "Bureau of Freed-

men" was established by the British government; no

corps of watchful officers at all considerable points protected the rights of the freed people; no company

of teachers went forth from the old country to carry

instruction, sympathy, and assurance of protection to

the long-degraded and defrauded slaves. They were

TREE! a blessed gift, received by them with the mos

simple and touching gratitude to God, and used by

them with prevailing good sense, good order, and self-

respect. But the amount of sincere help and encour

agement to self-improvement which they have had is

small. A few noble men, like the Rev. HENRY BLEBY

of Barbadoes, who visited us some years ago, and spoke

to us one First of August beneath these very trees, have

stood faithfully by them, and by example and precept

furnished the friendly counsel and help which might be

needed. But it was comparatively little that such could do against the combined power of a class long used to

mastership, and determined to keep their old laborers

dependent and subject. Accordingly, it has happened,

cipation was decreed, the educational advancement

their influence in civil and social matters scarcely ap

preciable. Emancipation found the colored popula

tion of Jamaica, and of the other British W. I. colo

nies, in a state of gross ignorance; and the education

on good authority, " has been all but totally neglected

the Legislature of Jamaica." That colony has

of the freed people there has been but small, and

that in the thirty-one years since West India I

of half a million, only \$20,000 per annum is voted! noble company of workers for freedom in the Old The result is, that "the great bulk of the black people World, the debt we have owed them so long; and of Jamaica are, as regards mental culture, in a state show to all mankind an Example, in full and but little removed from that in which slavery left ble success, of a Republic based on "these self-evi them thirty years ago; that only two blacks have ever dent truths, that all men are created equal, and en sat in the legislature of the colony; that, out of the dowed by their Creator with an INALIENABLE RIGHT hundreds of magistrates on the island, there are not more than four black men holding commissions of the peace; that among the ninety-odd ministers of the Established Church in the island, there is only one black minister,-and he is said to be without a incumbency,-and in the civil service of the colony only a single negro, and he holding only the subordinate post of tide-waiter in the custom-house." The same legislature which appropriates only \$20,000 yearly for all public schools, raises \$200,000 yearly by taxation for the church-establishment,-a church to which only about one-fourth of the population belongs. 'The blacks are nearly all dissenters from the churc of the island," and contribute handsomely to the maintenance of their own churches and ministers yet are taxed besides to support the church of the wealthy class! Such is the chivalry and magnanimi-

ty and sense of honor of a class long used to slavery,

and bent on maintaining its mastery over the laboring

It is even more instructive and more full of warning to note how the civil and electoral rights of the freed population of the West India islands have been dealt with. "Shortly after emancipation took place an election-law was passed by the Jamaica legislature, giving the elective franchise to owners of freeholds of the annual value of six pounds sterling and upwards (about \$30). Under that law a considerable nun the freed blacks became entitled to vote; but as the negro in numerous instances showed quite a disposi tion to think and act for himself as a voter, or at any rate to follow other leaders than the men of the old dominant party, it was discovered that the law was a great deal too liberal, and after various other attempts

the happy expedient was hit upon of imposing a ta on the suffrage, besides retaining the property qualifi-cation for it. This tax is two dollars and a half a year, in addition to any other taxes which a man may have to pay. But mark the unblushing meanness of the matter ! All persons paying taxes to the amount of seven dollars and a half, and upwards, are exempted from the tax on the elective franchise. So it happens that the voting tax falls exclusively on the poore class, and the wealthy and well-to-do are relieved from it entirely! A more barefaced and iniquitous evasion of law and justice it would be difficult magine. The result of this legislation has been to render popular representation in Jamaica a mockery and a delusion. There are several parishes of that island, numbering respectively a population of 25,000 to 30,000 souls, whose voting-lists show only 30 or 40 registered voters. The whole number of registered

emember, in a population of half a million."-(See The Nation, No. 1.) Very differently has our American "experiment"

mmenced. At the first tidings of the downfall of slavery on the shores of Chesapeake Bay and the Port Royal islands, teachers and friends made ready in New England, in the Middle and Northwestern States, to go at once to the emancipated, and give them the welcoming hand to freedom. They have gone all over the South and Southwest, and still they go, instructing the children everywhere, and teaching to the adults invaluable lessons of self-respect, independence, and industrious enterprise. The chool-house is set up. The voices of school children make sweet music in the ears of teachers, and of parents scarce able yet to comprehend the good that has come to them. Savings' banks are instituted; and the people who came out of slavery two years ago, ragged and spenniless, have now in numerous cases comfortable homes, and money laid up in these The nation has called the freedmen into its armies, and they have proved themselves brave, efficient, and excellent soldiers. The Government has declared them citizens,-a decision which the Supreme Court of the land will abundantly sustain, if it should ple of white sovereignty. ever be made a question. President Lincoln, in his thoughtful, cautious, and statesmanlike way, for which we can never too much honor his memory, concerned—the ballot; but he was frank to say, that laid the foundations of their liberty deep and strong. he expected our country and our cause would be President Jourson thoroughly understands the old saved before every man and woman should be made slaveholders of the South, knows them to be the ene- virtuous or made temperate. He regretted the exmics of the Republic, and has suffered in himself, in treme ground taken by Mr. Wright, because it his family, and has seen others suffer, from their sel- seemed to him that he (Mr. W.) defeat fish, oppressive, and cruel policy. He bravely withstood and resisted them in his own State and in the thusiasm in the audience, were calculated to depress Senate of the United States,-before the war, and during the war. He is not the man to restore to their hands the power they have so infamously abused, and time of this generation. which had righteously been taken from them by the war. True there are some discouraging appearances now, and an active imagination may conjure up others, which we trust will never have a real existence. There are individual cases of suffering and wrong among the freedmen which excite the liveliest indig nation. But the weight of the facts and the evidence

not that he will "apply the brakes," before it is too late. To suppose that he can or will be guilty of the treachery, which some few are ready to charge upon him, is too monstrous. Let us not hastily yield to such suspicions, or withdraw our support from those whose past course has earned a right to our confidence. Nor yet let us give that confidence blindly. The Government must know the opinions, convictions, and determinations of the people. There is danger, but the danger will best be averted by working in a

is on the other side. President Johnson has given

the seceding States the opportunity to take, manfully

and voluntarily, if they will, an honest position in a

restored and free Union. If they will not, but shall

generous and hopeful spirit. But I must close, and would say in closing that the ereat and uniform lesson we learn from West India emancipation is that slaveholders cannot be trusted with the rights and welfare of their former slaves. They are, at the best, biassed by self-interest and by old prejudices; and in too many instances are ready to wreak their own rebel spite and mortification on the leads of their unoffending laborers. False to the coun try, false to their own oaths, lost to every sense o manly obligation, such men are utterly unfit to hold any trust or exercise any power; and it will be the extremest cruelty, as well as the basest desertion of our best friends, if we suffer the freed people of the South to fall into their hands. It must not be so. No words can represent too strongly the doom which our nation will deserve, and which God's inevitable judgments will bring upon us, if we now desert and betray these humble yet faithful friends of our country into the merciless hands of that country's worst enemies. May our hands forget their cunning, and our tongues cleave to the roof of our mouths, if we forget these people in their need, who never forgot us nor our suffering sons and brothers in our sore need! Let us refuse to build our national house by any wrong. Le us not suffer venal and corrupt Northern demagogues, combining with Southern rebels, to cheat us of the glorious results of a true Republicanism, for which our people have paid so vast a price. Education is t necessity now, and that must continue to be furnished freely by thousands of Northern hearts and hands, with the help and protection of the United States government. Citizenship,-the right to participate in making the laws under which they live, and to be defended in all personal and social rights pre cisely as other citizens are, -this is the next necessity and equal to the other. Education and Citizenship for all, without distinction of color or of race,-and no loss for the nation's safety than for the freedman'sthis must be our motto, whether as just men, or true patriots, or wise builders of our country's future. So shall we best honor this great Anniversary of Free dom, making it a help and a power in securing one

\$100,000. But for popular education, in a population too, shall we best pay back,-at least in part,-to the to Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness."

The Trimountain Glee Club, a quartette of ex ellent singers, connected with the Trimon Ball Club, who had kindly given their services for his occasion, were then called upon by the President, and sung the beautiful piece entitled-" There's music

HENRY C. WRIGHT then spoke on the Ballot

The majority of the nation, he said, represent the people, and that majority could be ascertained only by the ballot. That was the sole pivot on which this Government turned. The ballot was the demo cratic symbol of sovereignty, and meant absolute supreme, uncontrolled, irresponsible power in the nands of man over man. Everything that was done by the Government of this nation was done by the voter, and on the soul of the voter rested the responsi bility.

This being the case, the question was, who should ase the ballot. The right of suffrage was not a natural right at all. It was a mere conventional right, be towed by the State, and only by the State. every State Constitution, and so said the Federal Constitution. The question arose, Shall the white nan, because he is white, be allowed to vote, and the black man, because he is black, be disfra He believed that nothing could save the nation if it persisted in disfranchising the black man because of his color. Should a man, because he was a man and not a woman, be allowed to vote ? No: this was usus pation. It was just as great a crime, in his opinion for a man to claim the right to vote because he wa man and not a woman, as it was for him to clain the right to vote because he was white and not black Every argument in favor of negro suffrage that could be produced was of equal force in favor o the right of woman to the ballot. Looking at the condition and destiny of this Republic, he ventured the prediction, that unless the ballot was put into the hands of the intelligence and virtue of the country of whatever color or sex, the Republic was doomed t ertain destruction.

Mr. Wright said he hoped the day would con then neither the drunkard nor the drunkard-make would be allowed to vote. Should a man in a beastly state of intoxication, he asked, be allowed to reel up o the polls, and decide by his ballot the destiny of the nation? He thought, also, that the man who would make merchandize of the ballot, and sell his vote for so much rum or so many dollars, or such a fat office, ought not to be allowed to vote. These voters in the island is but two thousand; and that, questions must be looked at, and the country mus speak out on them, or we were lost.

The ballot was now needed to complete the worl that the bullet had begun, and the question was, Shall we put the ballot into the hands of those wh have wielded the bullet against the Government and who have been conquered in their effort to destroy the nation, and refuse it to those wh have saved the nation by the bullet? It might be that for a time the people would refuse the ballot to the negro, out of deference to the prejudices of the traitors; but the day would come when they would be obliged to put the ballot into the negro's hand, to save the nation from a deadlier war than that through which it had just passed.

The simple question to-day was between Democ racy and Aristocracy. The recent war originated in an abuse of the ballot-the refusal of the minority to submit to the majority; and what was needed was that everywhere throughout the land should be held up the fundamental democratic principle, the duty of the minority to submit to the rule of the majority The practical duty of the hour was to bring a power to bear upon Congress that should influence them to refuse to admit a State into the Union on the princi-

CHARLES L. REMOND said he agreed with Mr. by the suggestion that there was a work to be per formed which could not be accomplished in the life

The Glee Club then sang. " Wake, Nicodemus," to the great amusement of the audience, who testified their pleasure by hearty applause. At the conclusion of the song, a recess was taken for dinner.

AFTERNOON SESSION. After an hour spent in nic icing, in participation in the various amusements offered to the pleasure-seeker, and in social intercourse, the company again assembled at the stand, and speak ing was resumed.

still evince a rebellious and oppressive purpose, doubt JOHN WETHERBEE, JR., Esq., of Boston, was the first speaker. He commenced by referring to the prospect before us in regard to reconstruction, and alluded to the danger of attempting to settle matter upon any other basis than that of justice and righteous ness. In order that our country should be happy an prosperous, he said, it was necessary that the negro should have all the rights of a man and a citizen. He hought it would be a burning shame to take the shackles off the negro, and say to him, "You are free !" and then leave him in the hands of those peo ple against whom he had fought, entirely disfranchis ed, and with no right to a voice in the Government The needle of the negro had invariably pointed, dur ing the last four years, without any variation in hi ompass, to the Union and to Union men; and if to day it was customary, as it was at one time in Rome for each citizen to utter the sentiment which was mos important as bearing upon the affairs of the nation. very sympathetic man would utter this word first The negro shall be, in every sense of the word. citizen !" He was very happy to see that people were beginning to feel it so; and that, too, outside of the special ranks of the abolitionists. Still, he felt it to be their duty to urge the nation forward in that direc ion. He was one of those who did not believe that Wendell Phillips, when he went to Cleveland las year, made a mistake. He believed that Convention did good, and that the Republican platform was lifted ome degrees in consequence of that meeting; and to-day, the duty of anti-slavery people was to utter their voice, as educators, and it would have an effect He believed there was something in the anti-slavery party that was important as an organization. He b lieved in organizations, for he knew it was impossible for individuals to do what people could do in an or ganized body; and he thanked God and took courage that the Anti-Slavery Society did not dissolve last Spring. He wanted that Society to exist, because of its prestige. It had prophesied truly; and when the nti-slavery party, in their incarnation, or in their body politic, uttered a sentiment, that sentiment beame a prophecy : the people felt that it would come true. They felt just exactly as the poet expresses it,

" Tis the sunset of life brings us mystical lore, And coming events cast their shadows before. Agitation would prevent all the trouble that was now

nticipated. In conclusion, Mr. Wetherbee quoted a toast said to have been given by John Quincy Adams, many "Our country : may she ever be success ful! But, whether successful or unsuccessful may she ever be right!" Thank God, said Mr. Wetherlately expended for a prison \$200,000, and the prison for our own land, more complete and more thorough bee, in this particular case, right and success mean one system of the island is maintained at an annual cost of ly imbued with the spirit of humanity and justice. So, and the same thing.

Rev. NATHANIEL COLVER, of Chicago, was the next speaker. He said he felt like rejoicing on this ecasion. When he looked back over the past twenty years, and saw what God had wrought, his heart swelled, and he was filled with gratitude. He renembered when it was very dark, and when it seem ed as if the heavens were shut down all around; but

He desired to bring forward some of the lessons

be learned from emancipation in the West Indies. The government of Great Britain was entitled to no credit for that emancipation; it came through the struggles of a few individuals, who labored in the cause of human rights. Clarkson and Wilberforce, nd Wm. Knibb, and their co-laborers, kept the light shining in the midst of a corrupt generation, until England gave freedom to her slaves. In 1840, he was in London, and saw a number of people from Jamaica, and learned the condition of things in that island. The slaveholders were unwilling to let their victims go, and did them all the harm they could. So it would be in this country. The Legislature of Jamaica passed a law providing that if any colored man was found on the highway over night, he should be put in prison as a vagrant, and sold to work out his The negroes were living in cabins owned by their former masters, and they could reduce their wages as low as they pleased, turn them out of their abins, and then have them arrested and sold under the law. There were other laws terribly oppressive to the blacks; and when he was in London, he signed a petition to the Queen, asking her to refuse her sand tion to those laws. The petition, which was of great length, was placed in the hands of Lord Brougham for presentation, and he said, "There is one name at the top; cut off all the rest, and send it in." The n was complied with, and the petition was successful. That one name was THOMAS CLARKSON -potent then, but which for years had been spurne nd trodden under foot by the aristocracy and govern ing classes of Great Britain.

The friends of the colored man in the West Indies had to stand by him after his bonds were stricken off by law, and see that he had his rights. The slaveolders had no notion of giving up their victim. Politicians could not be relied upon to carry out the behests of freedom, and their old friends had to stand the guardians of the freedmen. The three hundred thousand slaveholders of the South, whose victims had been plucked out of their hands, did not mean to give them up. They would crush the blacks, unless the anti-slavery friends stood their guardians. They must still tie the crushed black man to them as their brother, and stand by him until his freedom was asthis country were lost.

Another fact was developed by emancipation in the British West Indies, and that was, that freedom is not the only thing the slave needs. Who were the freed slaves? Poor, crushed human beings; ignorant, untaught; their bodies developed, but their souls stultified. Here and there a colored man would stand up a prodigy of mental strength and vigor, but this was the exception. The colored man, like the white man, was the creature of circumstances, to a great extent. Bring up the children of white men as the hildren of slaves are brought up, and he did not know that they would be any worse, but they would be just as bad as black children. The fact was, that there was a departure from virtue among the colored people of Jamaica that was alarming, and it had held them in degradation ever since. So it was with the liberated millions of the South. They were crushed. degraded, ignorant; and it would be but a wretched boon to give them freedom, unless something else was given with it. They must have light and knowledge.

He differed from Mr. Wright in regard to the ballot. He believed that the right of suffrage was inherent in every man and woman, and that the business of every ommunity was, not to give that right, but to guard it The crushed bondmen at the South had this right, but they must have something besides this. Manhood must be restored to them. The wretched bondman must be lifted up, and taught what his rights are; and this would be the labor of years.

Then the white men of the South must be taken care of. It was more work for England to take care the whites of Jamaica, after emancipation took place, than it was to take care of the blacks. The whites of the South were on our hands, thousands of them as imbecile as infants. They would kick and ties wont try that man, try him by a military combite, and the question was, what should be done with mission, and hang him." would be any sweet peace in the country until the larger part of them the most reliable and intelligent anti-slavery men of The whites of the South were in a position to do us more harm than the blacks could, and if they were not saved, they would ruin us. God had opened all this immense field to us, and we had got to meet these

In conclusion, Mr. Colver said that while the name of those through whose instrumentality British emancipation was achieved were remembered with honor, the names of those who had breasted the storm in this country should not be forgotten. He loved the name of Wm. Lloyd Garrison; and when the names of political traitors had gone to rot, that name would stand high and never be forgotten. The nation owed in being joyful and hopeful, in view of the prospect him and the men who stood with him, a debt of in- before us. finite gratitude. I am glad to meet you here to-day. said Mr. C. It does my old heart good. It carries me back to the time when we were struggling together in Massachusetts, and met with but little favor, ex-Blessed be the name of God forever and ever for the emancipation in which we rejoice to-day!

Mr. May stated that the Finance Committee would now enter upon the discharge of their duty, and urged the importance of liberal contributions, not only to defray the expenses of the meeting, but to assist in the general operations of the Massachusetts Society.

SPEECH OF MRS. FRANCES E. W. HARPER. Mrs. F. E. W. HARPER then addressed the audince. She said it was interesting to mark the rise and progress of any reform which had for its object the welfare and happiness of mankind, and proceeded to sketch, briefly, but in an interesting manner, the efforts for the suppression of the African slave trade, and then for the abolition of slavery itself, which have resulted in the utter extinction of the infamous system among the nations of Europe, and all, or nearly all, their colonies in America, and in this country, to a very large extent, with the prospect of ts entire annihilation at no distant day. This is the Lord's doings, said Mrs. H., and marvellous our eyes. The Bible told of a man who built his ouse upon the sand, and when the floods descended, and the winds came, it fell, and great was the full thereof. But the slaveholders, rebels against justice and humanity, built not only upon the sand, but over the crater of God's wrath-over the magazine of Divine retribution; and to-day the colored people stood, as a race, newly anointed with freedom. Looking be yond the life of the individual to the life of the race, she was not hopeless of the future of the negro. She found at the South three classes: The scum of socie ty, the dregs of society, and the colored man. By scum of society she meant such men as Jefferson Davis, Hunter, Beauregard, and the other leaders of the rebellion. Where were they to-day? Scattered by the whirlwind of the living God. Some were looking out through prison bars, some were exiles, and some were in the surest and safest place for all rebels,-the grave. By the dregs of society, she meant the poor white of the South, who saw his brother stricken down, and consented to the wrong. The paramount idea of President Johnson, if she understood him right, was to elevate this mass of poo whites. She thought be was right in this : but sh

would tell him that between the poor white men and the poor black men of the South, there was a commu-

nity of interest. If legislation degraded the labor of

the black man, the white man also would be degraded.

SPEECH OF REV. NATHANIEL COLVER. God had linked the two races together, and when the South pressed the slave beneath the burden of his chains, she placed a weight upon her bosom which crippled her moral power and paralyzed her spiritual

Mrs. Harper said, that what she asked of the Amer ican people was, that if they could not get indemnity for the past, they should have security for the future. How was that security for the future to be obtained? By disfranchising the colored man,-by putting him at the feet of every whitewashed rebel who himself loyal? Was it not madness and folly for a nation to sacrifice its interest to its prejudices ? She was not able to argue the question of suffrage with Mr. Wright, but she believed it was generally ceded that men had the right of self-defence, and the ballot was the means of self-defence to the negro against the malice of his oppressors.

The lesson of this hour was simply, that justice is the right of every race. The humblest and meanest child of the living God was linked to the throne of the Eternal Father with such strong but invisible ties, that if they were rudely jarred upon earth, they ould tremble around the Throne. (Loud applause.)

Mr. May stated that a letter had been received rom Hon. N. H. WHITING, who had been expected to speak, but found himself unable to address an outdoor meeting; and, on motion of Mr. Foss, it was voted that the letter be published with the proceedings of the meeting. [For Mr. Whiting's letter, see third page.]

Mr. RICHARD THAYER read one of Mrs. Harper's oems, entitled, "Bury me in a free land," which was rarmly applauded.

SPEECH OF C. L. REMOND.

CHARLES LENOX REMOND then briefly addressed he audience. He expressed the conviction, that whatever might be the results of emancipation in the future, so far it had failed. He believed, with Mr. Wright, that the suffrage question was to be the next great question in this country, but he did not believe that the people of this State were responsible for the wrongs to which Mr. Wright had referred. How long had it been true that a single Massachusetts man would permit Congress or the President to interfere with the local institutions of this State? He hoped that Congress, at its next session, would decide that no State should enter the Union but upon the basis of free suffrage, a free religion, and free social and civil rights. He asked this, not for his color, but for the welfare of the nation; and he agreed with the friends who had asserted, that unless that principle was adopted, freedom, democracy and civilization in

### SPEECH OF ANDREW T. FOSS.

Mr. Foss said his friend Remond had entirely changed the character of his speech. He had intend ed to criticise the government for its want of fidelity to freedom, but Mr. Remond had made such charges that his sense of justice was roused, and he felt obliged to defend the government.

There were many things he did not like in the present condition of the country. He did not like Mr. Johnson's idea that the rebel States had not lost their status. He (Mr. F.) believed they had; and he thought the President had recognized this fact, in appointing military Governors for those States, which he could not do if they had not lost their character as States. He thought that if the President could interfere with the internal affairs of a State so far as to appoint its Governor, he could prescribe who should be the voters. He believed, as Gen. Nye had said, that the people of the rebellious States and lost all their rights but two; the first was the legal right to be hung, and the second was the divine right to be damned. (Laughter and applause.)

Mr. Foss said he was glad the President's plan was working so badly. He was glad the scoundrelism and rascality of the South were being made manifest. The scheme was working so badly, that he had every hope the President would change it. Already, the recent election in Richmond, it was said, had been declared null and void. A negro was shot in Mississippi for insolence to a white man; and, find ing that the civil authorities did not arrest the mur derer. Gen. Thomas did. A writ of habeas cornus was issued, which the General refused to obey, and wrote to Washington for instructions. The answer came (Applause.) The Presiwere dead; and they would waste away amazing fast. the country, General Carl Shurtz, to inquire into the faces of the people, and to hear what he had hear feelings of the people of the South in regard to their loyalty, and as to their treatment of the colored man. and report. He thought this indicated a willingness

to change the policy, if its necessity was shown It had been said that no good had come to the black nan. Was it nothing that 200,000 black men had worn the army blue and shouldered the U.S. musket? Was it nothing that Congress had passed the Amendment to the Constitution, and that its acceptance by the people had been assured? That was in prospect, but in such near prospect that he clasped it near his heart as a God-benison. He thought he was justified

He agreed with all that had been said of the infamy of depriving the colored man of his vote. He did not believe the President ever intended to do it; if he did believe it, he should despise him. The President cept from on high. Oh, there was light up there! had his pet idea of State rights; that was his fetish, so to speak; but he desired that the States should establish their Constitutions in accordance with the Proclamation of Freedom, and in harmony with the great idea of human rights, that the ballot belongs to every man in the land who is amenable to the law, and has attained the requisite age. But if that would not work-and he (Mr. F.) knew it would not work-the President then intended to try another course; and so surely (said Mr. F.) as you and I live, the colored man will be the conqueror in this conflict, as he has been in every other. By giving a vote to the colored man, we should divide the fearful unanimity of the South, and be able to control those States If we withheld the ballot from the black man, the Southerners would, by uniting their power with the Copperheads of the North, rule the country as in the

I said upon this stand, years ago, (said Mr. Foss.) that I should live to see slavery abolished; and some of you laughed-for I was gray when I said it. I have lived to see slavery abolished in this land: I have lived to see it go down to its grave; and now, God willing, I will live to see the negro a citizen; and then, if it please God, I will live about twenty years more to see the working of equality and free dom in this land; and then, my friends, I will fold my hands, and with Simeon of old exclaim, "Now Lord, lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.'

The Glee Club then sang, "There's victory at ast," in a spirited and effective manner, which elicited the hearty applause of the audience.

SPEECH OF REV. SERENO E. HOWE. Rev. S. E. Howe, of East Abington, said this day was a brighter day than ever dawned upon this coun try before. We had always loved to think of British mancipation; we had always rejoiced in the fact that thousands of men had leaped up free, their shackles falling off in one blessed. God-given hour: but when we thought of British emancipation, then came the remembrance of our own slaves, and we were ready to say, with Whittier, the sweetest poet, perchance, of America .-

"Shall every flap of England's flag
Proclaim that all around are free,
Prom farthest Ind to each blue orag
That beetles o'er the western sea;
And shall we scoff at Europe's kings,
While freedom's fire is dim with us,
And round our country's altar clings
The damning shade of slavery's curse?"

But now, all that was past. The slave was to onger to be found, and his master was seen, a cone onger to be found, and the being going to Washington to ask for pardon at the hands of that Gover to ask for partion as the mands of that hovernment which he had spurned and hated, and sought to creat

The failures of emancipation in the West India The fatures of consumption of the first indicates to us, trumpet-toned, warning us that if ve would make our emancipation a success, we man he just to every man—just to those who ought to need with condign punishment, and just to those who had with condign pullishmens, and just to mose who be always been our friends. He had often been as prised that the negro, after all the obloquy and nproach and contempt that had been rolled upon him was so ready to shoulder his musket, and go into the was so ready to should be the had done so, and the h bellion had been crushed. Now, did the nego by for the ballot? No, he claimed it; he had a right h it; and it was not for us to say, "We will accord his it; and it was not lot us to say, we will accord in the ballot; we will allow him to vote." He had the right to vote, and if he did not vote, we were guilty if accursed injustice. (Applause.) We were not doing a magnanimous thing when we said to the horn "Here is the ballot-box open—come and vote, in: There was no magnanimity about it; it was only do Ing just the thing which he had a right to chim. Another thing which had surprised him was, that

these slaveholding rebels should now claim that the had a right to decide who should and who should an vote. All the Republican newspapers were using that there was a tremendous feeling in North Care lina and South Carolina and Virginia against the od ored man's voting. Who was it that had that feel. ing? Why, those God-forsaken rebels who had just escaped the halter! (Applause.) These men had the impudence to tell who they wanted to vote, and who they didn't want to vote. All he had to say about that was, that so far as the greater part of the South were concerned, it was just distinctly and particularly none of their business who voted! (Applance,) Some times it was said that it would irritate these men who were asking pardon if we said the negro should have the right of suffrage. A few years ago, it was said that it would be a terribly irritating thing if the black man should be allowed to fight. Well, it did terriby irritate the slaveholders when the black man fought it hurt them, but they needed to be hurt, and it did them good. It would hurt their feelings more when the negro had the ballot than when he had the mustet for it would tend to place freedom on a firmer basis.

There is just this about it, said Mr. Howe: either the negro is to vote, or the country is a used-up concern; and the negro is going to vote. I don't care whether that right is alienable or inalienable-whether it was born with him or not; all I want to know it that he has it.

## SPEECH OF WM. A. JACKSON.

WM. A. JACKSON, known as the former coachn of the Chief of the rebel Confederacy, was then in troduced, and made quite a telling speech. He mid he did not agree with what had been said with respect to the little progress that had been made. If had been born in Salem and been educated in Paris, perhaps he should think differently; but, looking back on his slave life, he felt that his existence did n commence till 1862, though he was thirty years of He thought if Mr. Remond had talked in the same strain that he had to day when he was engaged in en listing colored troops, he would not have obtained a single man.

He thought the people of Massachusetts had a right to say who should vote in the Southern States, and he felt very sure that if the black man was everton the rights of citizenship, they must be given to him by somebody else than by the Southern rebels, w had been subdued, but not converted. He believe it was for the people of New England and the West to say that the rebel States should not come back, et cept on the basis of negro suffrage. He expected the white people to make blunders. He knew that the had been brought up to everything like an ox to the slaughter (laughter); but all he wanted was to have them stay there after they got there.

Mr. Jackson thought the appointment of the re-Governors would be beneficial to the cause of freedom cause, when Congresss met, they would say, " W have tried them three or four months, to see wh they will do. We see that they are tyrants and reb now, and therefore we must pass some laws by which the colored men shall have the ballot, to sustain no only themselves, but the Republic." The prospect before us, then, was bright.

# SPEECH OF GEORGE W. STACY.

GEO. W. STACY, of Milford, was the last ! He said he felt it good to be there, to look into the and yet they were not there so much to think about West India Emancipation, as about our own day of complete jubilee. Although they might say, prospec ively, that their work was finished, yet there was great deal to be done, for in every community there still existed a bitter prejudice against the oppresse race, which must be exorcised from the human hear before it could ascend to the plane of liberty, and all men be recognized as the children of one commo Father, who loves and blesses us all. They were look ing for that brighter day, that day foretold by prophets but it would not come unless they worked, and worked faithfully still

He felt that although there was much for which should thank God and take courage, yet there was also much that should cause andness. We could not to what the future might bring. It might bring all we hoped for; but he would say, that God would work no miracle; we must keep our hands to the plough, and not look back until the slave is not only free from the shackles of bondage, but in the enjoyment of

all the privileges of a free man. Let us go home, said Mr. Stacy, with the determination nation that what we have heard shall not be lost; with the determination that God, who strengthens ever good purpose, shall be honored, not in profession, in ceremony, but in honest and earnest lives, so that wherever we go, all that we do or say shall be on the side of that truth and righteousness which shall bring about that glorious period for which we have been sighing, lo! these many years. I have looked around to-day and seen many pleasant faces, but some that should have been glad to see are not here. They are with us, I trust, in spirit; I wish they had been with us in the flesh. But, my friends, roll on the Libert ball! " Sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish." let us not stop in this work until the negro stands by our side an equal brother. May God gitt with strength to be faithful, and not to cease from bors until the day shall come which we desire, when there shall be no slavery, either for body or mi npon the face of the earth. (Applause.)

The popular song, "Tramp, tramp, tramp, then sung, in an admirable manner, by the at the conclusion of which, on motion of Re Wallcut, a vote of thanks was passed to the Clu their welcome contribution to the pleasure of the

The hour having arrived for the departure train for Boston, the meeting adjourned

The thirty-first anniversary of West mancipation was celebrated at Myrick's Gr large congregation of colored people from Pr. Boston, New Bedford, and other places. I Smith, of Boston, presided. The resolution express fears that the government may principle by which the freedmen of the S forever excluded from the ballot-box; the country is in duty and honor bound to the colored citizens of the republic equal every respect; urge that those who have so no fended the flag with bullets ought not to be of the privilege of defending it with balls without the elective franchise, all other rights h mere privileges to be held at the option of an cal party; and that they will never be satisfiany thing short of perfect and absolute equality fore the law.

EV MASE ROBER TERM Four o ars, if pay

TH

All re-elating to the irected (Post Adverimes at ten c erted on re The A Ivania, Ohi The fo aper, vis :-

WM. LLOY VO \$

THE WAYS

Extract from

N. J., July 4tl M. A., M. D., The strang own paths.
As man is old hood antedate ral rights are Civil society them. When ments are inst ural rights ar tion, four mi for their natu They have h through their touch the hem Shall the vir the ecstacies of piness? What the rebellion of justly set then

ent will ratif

are also citizer

the flag, natur

freedom guara make them cit but entitled to chise under pr Curtis, late of States, in his of says: "To descended from zens of the Un and consequen Constitution of sary to know we either of the the time of the this there can l ification of the free, native-bor Hampshire, M sey, and Nort sey, and Nort African slaves States, but suc qualifications p

the decision of against Manue State, all bun slaves, fall wit etween citizen known to our i not exist in Ennies. Slaves what property. qualification of persons, and we not British sub were not born king. Upon th place in the las sequent on the

this view, Judy Court of North jurist who ever

and therefore, i born within the State. The C ranchise to eve age of twenty-or a matter of univ persons, without cired the franchi of color a few y Chief Justice the United State of colored men i plicit language, States are citizer so endowed with of citizeration. of citizenship.
and bear arms.
clesecond of the
militia being ne
State, the right
shall not be infr

Slaves remaine Carolina became ers, until made aliens. Slaves

ens. Slaves.

bearing arms is security of a free free, citizens of cannot be infriincure the freedo If they may

free common westerionally for or tutionally for or tutionally for or tutionally for or Al of narrow self-flate the negregater, disfrance which cannot run; the cannot self-flate the cannot self-flate the cannot c